

# IN THESE TIMES

AUGUST 1, 2005

## THE PROGRESSIVE FRONTIER

Montana Gov. Brian Schweitzer has  
lessons to teach Democrats







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Cover photo: Office of Governor Schweitzer

Intelligent discontent is the mainspring of civilization. Progress is born of agitation. It is agitation or stagnation.

EUGENE V. DEBS  
SPEECH IN GIRARD KAN.,  
MAY 23, 1908



# Editorial

## What Jimmy Taught Us By Joel Bleifuss

This issue honors James Weinstein, the founding editor and publisher of *In These Times*. With testimonies from 28 family members, friends

and colleagues we remember the man who through his books and this magazine sought to point progressive Americans to political strategies that work.

I first met Jimmy at an annual convention of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) in the late '70s. He was one of the leaders of a group of us, mostly from the Midwest, who thought DSA should be more electorally focused and challenge the Democratic establishment by running openly democratic socialist candidates in party primaries. On the other side were those, mostly from New York and Washington and led by Michael Harrington, who, wary of alienating liberal Democrats and labor leaders, sought to gain political influence through coalitions.

History has vindicated Jimmy. Lacking pressure from an organized populist left, the Democratic Party gradually began to morph into Republican lite.

Jimmy understood three things that too often have eluded others.

- One, if American progressives want to make fundamental change rather than noise, they must overcome their ghettoization into single-issue enclaves and unite around inclusive goals, such as universal health care. Jimmy put it this way in *The Long Detour*, "How to unite

people across lines of parochial interest and in favor of the general interest is what we will have to teach ourselves."

- Two, political agitation that is not connected to a broader electoral strategy becomes nothing more than glorified legislative lobbying—and lobbying unsupported by tangible political power is as effective as herding cats.
- Three, because of institutional barriers, third party political efforts in the United States have never succeeded, which means the Democratic Party is the only viable vehicle for electoral action.

He elaborates on all of this in *The Long Detour*, the last lines of which are: "Of course, it's easy to put this on paper, but not so easy to test the theory in action. That next step is up to you."

Three articles in this issue explore efforts to take "that next step." In the "House Call" column on page 14, Rep. Lynn Woolsey (R-Calif.), the co-chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, discusses the plans of the largest Democratic caucus in the House. Matt Singer reports on page 16 how Montana Democrats who effectively organized around a populist platform are ascendant in a state that gave a 20-point margin of victory to George W. Bush. Singer also

writes about the newly formed Progressive Legislators Action Network, whose mission is to "change the political landscape in the United States by focusing on attainable and progressive state level actions." Finally, Christopher Hayes and Rick Perlstein, two young writers whose work Jimmy championed, discuss on page 18 how Democrats could improve their electoral fortunes by once again standing for something.

Over the years, Jimmy taught me many things. One lesson I am still trying to learn is how to be an effective "beggar"—that is, how to best ask *In These Times* readers for the donations that the magazine relies on to publish. Many of you know that all journals of opinion, both left and right, depend on outside financial support to make up the deficit between operating costs and subscription income, and that *In These Times'* ability to publish depends on contributions from readers who give above and beyond the cost of their subscription. Your support is absolutely crucial as we enter a new era. Please see our appeal on page 29.

Jimmy founded *In These Times* to help build a society that elevates human needs over corporate profit. The staff here believe that *In These Times* has never been more relevant to the struggle to build authentic democracy. We hear from readers that they believe so too. We are damn proud of the magazine we put out; proud to continue Jimmy's legacy and take "that next step." ■

# Letters

## Just What the Doctor Ordered

The June 20 issue of *In These Times* was just what we all needed at our house this week. We especially appreciated the text of Bill Moyer's address at the National Conference for Media Reform and your interview with Bernie Sanders (a presidential candidate someday?).

Thanks for doing what the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and other "papers of record" have chosen not to do: Report the news.

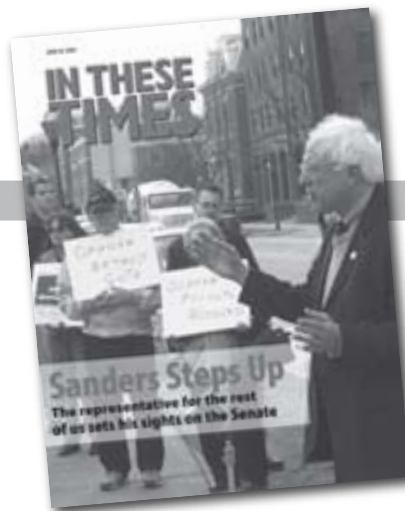
Patricia Raynor  
Reston, Va.

## Check Out Page 16

Considering politics, I think it is important for all of us to focus on the congressional elections in 2006 as the first

step in taking back our government from those who are using it for personal ideological and financial ends. We should be organizing in each congressional district to put forward the strongest candidate against the current Republican incumbent. Rep. Melissa Bean (D-Ill.) showed that a Democratic candidate can win even in a Republican district, when the incumbent is no longer representing the interest of the people.

EMILY's List has the right idea, identifying candidates early, then supporting them in the primary and the election. We should do that in all districts. For example, Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) has made himself vulnerable by his public support for Tom DeLay. Rep. Henry Hyde's



(R-Ill.) district will be open in 2006, and the voters are restive over the results of Republican (mis)rule.

Although the elections are 18 months away (with primaries earlier), progressives should already be preparing. To take the White House in 2008, we must take the Congress in 2006. And it can be done.

Frank L. Schneider  
Chicago

## Reclaim the Faith

Susan J. Douglas' "Jesus, Is This News?" (June 20) illustrates, beginning with its irreverent title, the left's tone deafness regarding religion, though she is right that when the media turn to religion, they generally do not know what they are doing.

But Douglas' complaint about the networks giving 129 minutes to the pope's death indicates that she doesn't know either. For better or worse—the self-importance of left writers and pundits and the Church's ineptitude and deliberate failures in promulgating its social teachings notwithstanding—the papacy is the only voice still heard at all over the propaganda clamor of U.S. imperialism, the grinding machinery of the largely immoral global economy and the audible sizzling of the environment. John Paul II did condemn the Iraq war

several dozen times, unfortunate though it was that U.S. bishops, most Catholic laity and Bush weren't listening.

The left's abandonment of religion has given the mindless and smug evangelical nutcases, whose following is sufficiently numerous to make the difference, free reign. Had the left evoked Catholic social teaching—on human dignity, the common good, race, development, global capitalism, and the environment, Jim Wallis' application of Scripture and serious Christian critiques of the Tim LaHaye rapture nonsense—we would not now be deep into George W. Bush fascism.

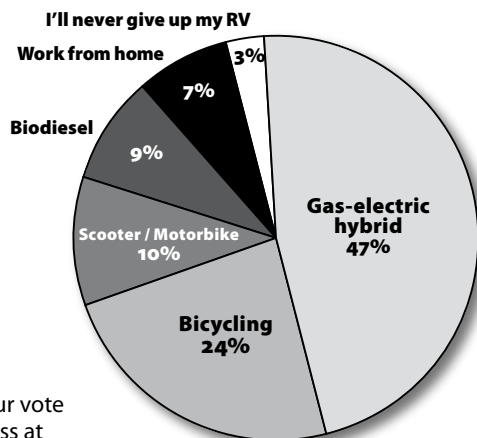
William H. Slavick  
Portland, Maine

## And Let's Lay Off the Buddhists, Too

Slavoj Žižek has written some of the more insightful and erudite critiques to appear in *In These Times*, but his Buddhist-bashing is getting old. His latest exercise in misrepresentation appears in "Revenge of Global Finance" (June 20). I'm not a Buddhist, but I can easily understand the distinction between their concept of non-attachment and those of indifference and non-engagement. Whether Žižek conflates these out of ignorance, or as part of a willful strategy to deflect attention from the complicity of Judeo-Christian-Islamic ideology in so many of the worst political excesses of the past 2000 years (from inquisitions to holy wars to imperialism to—yes—the economic inequality associated with global capitalism) I can't say. The current administra-

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tion paradigmatically exemplifies the easy synergy between the hypocrisy, intolerance, blind faith and self-righteousness that characterizes much of institutionalized Western religion and the ideology of unfettered free markets.

*Mike Loewenstein  
Washington, D.C.*

I've read enough of Slavoj Žižek's articles to have formed the opinion that they tend to be intelligent, often trenchant, sometimes abstruse observations of society at large. But his latest, "Revenge of Global Finance," belies the intelligence factor.

His facile and superficial gloss of Buddhism may be an accurate portrayal of the pop Buddhist craze that is offering so many an accessible relief from the idiocies and atrocities

of the day. But it does not describe actual practice, Western or Eastern, of the Buddha's teachings whereby the precepts and Noble eight-fold path outline a more rigorous and fundamental approach to moral, ethical behavior than do the 10 plus 2 commandments of the Old and New Testaments.

These guidelines are seen as a necessary foundation on which to build the evolving awareness of reality as it is rather than as it appears. Indifference is not what results. Rather, freedom from being ruled by the universal human failings that cause so much suffering to self as well as others. Only then can one truly engage.

A comparably shallow and incomplete view of Christianity would suggest that since Jesus saves any and all who

believe (whatever that means), it makes no difference how irresponsible and reprehensible one's behavior might be. As in our so-called Christian so-called president's acts of mayhem and cruelty.

Any discipline can be misapprehended, misconstrued and misapplied. That's why the wisdom traditions used to be secret, only available to those who had demonstrated a capacity to understand.

Please Slavoj, don't pass judgment on what you haven't understood.

*Anneke Mayer  
Dragoon, Ariz.*

## Correction

Due to a production error the photo credit was left off "Journalists, Not Activists." The photo was courtesy of the Goldman Environmental Prize.

# IN THESE TIMES

"With liberty and justice for all..."

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## Comings and Goings

With this issue we say farewell to Jeff Epton, who has served as *In These Times'* publisher for the past two years. We thank Jeff and wish him the best.

And we welcome Tracy Van Slyke, who will serve as acting publisher. Tracy, who has held the position of associate publisher for the past two years, brings youth, energy and strategic vision to the position. We expect great things from her.

## In Memoriam

*A public memorial service will be held for In These Times founder James Weinstein on Monday, August 22, at 1 p.m. at the South Shore Cultural Center in Chicago.*

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China National Offshore Oil Corporation's bid to take over Unocal is only the beginning of the country's "go out" strategy.

PETER PARKS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

## Get Used To It

China's bid to take over Unocal is just the start of its plans for acquisitions. *By Jehangir S. Pocha*

**B**EIJING—DEMANDS THAT CORPORATE AMERICA bolt its doors in the wake of the China National Offshore Oil Corporation's (CNOOC's) unsolicited offer to purchase the energy giant Unocal Corp. are being closely watched here. Many Chinese say the U.S. reaction will send an irrefutable message about whether Washington is more interested in its commitment to free trade or in containing the growing might of China, a country President Bush has labeled a "strategic competitor."

"Right now CNOOC is only following the rules of free trade," says Han Xiaoping, senior vice president of the Falcon Pioneer Technology Company Ltd, an energy research firm in Beijing. "If the deal is not allowed, it sends a message to Chinese companies and perhaps they might start looking for other ways, other markets to do business with."

CNOOC's \$18.5 billion all-cash offer for the El

Segundo, Calif.-based Unocal ups a friendly \$16.6 billion stock bid from San Ramon, Calif.-based Chevron Corp. It is the largest international purchase any Chinese firm has undertaken to date, and marks the first time a Chinese firm has entered into an international bidding war with an American company.

CNOOC's move comes close at the heels of Chinese computer-maker Lenovo's \$1.75 billion purchase of IBM's PC unit and is expected to be followed by Chinese appliance maker Haier's \$2.25 billion offer for Maytag Corporation. Together, the deals reveal the determination with which Chinese companies backed by the Chinese government are following what they call a "go out" strategy—a plan to use China's massive foreign exchange reserves of more than \$650 billion to acquire leading companies and brands in several key industries.

That's proving "unsettling and disruptive" for many

## Everywhere But Here

On June 28, the Canadian House of Commons voted 158 to 133 to legalize same-sex marriage. Spain joined Canada two days later when its parliament eliminated all legal distinctions between same-sex and heterosexual unions. The Netherlands and Belgium have also legalized some form of same-sex marriage, and civil unions are recognized in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Greenland, Iceland, Germany, France, Portugal and New Zealand.

Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero took a strong stand in a statement to the Spanish parliament. "Society is responding to a group of people who have been humiliated, whose rights have been ignored, their dignity offended, their identity denied and their freedom restricted," Zapatero said. Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin struck a similar note. "We are a nation of minorities," Martin said. "And in a nation of minorities, it is important that you don't cherry-pick rights."

Spain and Canada's new laws allow gays to enjoy all the legal rights that marriage entails, including adopting children. In Canada, religious groups are allowed to sanctify marriages as they see fit, and will not be obligated to perform unions against their beliefs.

Most provinces in Canada had already recognized same sex marriages, often after legal cases had been decided in their favor. In general, courts in Canada have ruled that laws restricting marriage to a man and a woman contravene rights guaranteed under Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The result has been thousands of same-sex marriages in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia over the past two years.

It's unclear whether Canadian same-sex marriages will be recognized in the United States. A handful of states do recognize them, but federally they violate the definition of marriage as solely the union between one man and one woman that was mandated in the Clinton-signed Defense of Marriage Act of 1996.

—Leighton Taylor

U.S. leaders and corporations, says James Brock, an independent advisor to the energy industry in Beijing. "But they'd better learn to deal with this sort of thing because it is going to keep happening," he said. "Pick any product, and the Chinese are going to change the market for it."

Until recently, Chinese firms were seen merely as cheap manufacturers, and the Chinese government invested most of its cash in low-yielding U.S. government treasury securities. But now the best Chinese firms are moving rapidly up the value chain, and local state-owned banks are eschewing the measly 4 percent return they earn on U.S. T-bills to bankroll their dreams of global expansion.

Jing Huang, a senior fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, says CNOOC's bid for Unocal is part of China's attempt to move into the global economy. "China's 'go out' policy is part of the strategy to integrate it into the world," Huang says.

But Brock says the Chinese government, which owns 70.6 percent of CNOOC, had endorsed the ambitious bid for even larger strategic interests, such as Beijing's desire to acquire energy fields at a time of uncertain energy supplies and diminishing energy stocks.

China is now the world's largest energy consumer after the United States, burning the equivalent of 1.5 billion tons of oil this year. Even conservative estimates expect this figure to double over the next decade. Over the next year alone, China will bring online new power plants that will produce about 80 gigawatts of electricity, more than the entire power capacity of the United Kingdom.

"If the rate of growth continues there just won't be enough [traditional energy sources] in the world for China," says Han.

That's not entirely a bad thing, says Brock, because diminishing supplies and rising prices will force nations to embrace other forms of potentially cleaner fuels and renewable energies. But until that happens, Chinese companies are desperately trying "to replace the energy supplies they've used up with reliable sources of new reserves," Brock says.

CNOOC executives estimate that the Unocal purchase will more than double CNOOC's current oil and gas production, and increase its reserves by 4 billion barrels of standard oil. With more than 85 percent of these combined reserves located in China and nearby Asian coun-

tries such as Indonesia and Myanmar, the merger makes sense on a strictly commercial basis.

But the battle for the control of energy resources also has significant political dimensions. Most countries guard their energy industry from foreign or unwanted buyers. China itself does not allow foreign investors to own more than 50 percent of most oil and natural gas-related companies, though it does allow foreign firms full ownership of energy exploration ventures. In fact, it is paying for Unocal in cash instead of stock because the Chinese government does not want to dilute its own holding in CNOOC.

Voices have already been raised in the United States against allowing a state-owned Chinese entity to control Unocal, which has been closely involved with the planned construction of controversial pipelines in Afghanistan and Myanmar. House Resources Committee Chairman Richard Pombo (R-Calif.) is demanding an investigation into the deal.

To soften such critics, CNOOC, whose savvy U.S.-educated CEO Fu Chengyu has a record of successfully navigating rocky waters, has said the company will retain its entire U.S. staff and that all the existing oil and gas Unocal sells in the United States will continue to be sold there and not diverted to China. The company also stated that it would be willing to sell Unocal's North American assets to U.S. companies, and consider "special management arrangements" for its pipeline projects.

Han says this indicates CNOOC does not want to challenge sensitive U.S. interests, and that its interest in Unocal is partly driven by China's goal of increasing the share of natural gas in its energy mix from 3 percent to 10 percent, mostly to curb pollution.

Unocal has Asia's largest stores of liquefied natural gas (LNG), which CNOOC needs for the new LNG terminals it is building along China's coastline. Unocal also owns specialized deep water drilling technology that CNOOC needs to explore its own gas reserves.

"There are places in China that are like scenes out of a Mad Max movie," Brock said, as smog obscured the normally panoramic view of Beijing from his 21st floor office. "In the short run, the move to gas is essential but in the longer run there has to be a fuller reconsideration in China, and indeed the world, of the entire energy system." ■

# APPALL-O-METER

## 3.7 Get With the Pogrom

Pity the poor, confused Russians. They slip the bonds of “actually existing socialism” only to run back into the arms of “the socialism of fools.” Antisemitism, that is.

In a move reminiscent of the bloody 1880s, a Russian state prosecutor is investigating a Jewish holy book to ascertain, as *Ha'aretz* reports, whether it constitutes “racist incitement and anti-Russian material.” The book in question is an abridged Russian translation of the Shulhan Arukh—a code of Jewish halakhic law that comments on, among other things, how Jews should integrate with gentiles. Considering that the text was compiled in the Ottoman Empire during the 16th century, some of its phrasing may strike modern ears as less than cordial to the goyim.

Then again, the whole investigation was kicked off by a letter to the prosecutor—signed by 500 luminaries of the Russian right, including Orthodox Church officials and former chess champion Boris Spassky—that characterized Judaism as “a form of Satanism” and commented that “some its most zealous followers [practice] ritual killings” of Christian children. Requests from Jewish organizations for an investigation of the letter writers have been ignored.

## 5.3 Take that Satan!

Ambulance drivers had a bit of a shock when they arrived recently at Holy Trinity monastery in Tanacu,

Romania. They found the corpse of Maricica Irina Cornici, a novice nun, chained to a cross. A towel had been jammed in her mouth. It's all good, though, as Father Daniel Petru Corogeanu, principal monk at the monastery,

explained. “God has performed a miracle for her, finally Irina is delivered from evil,” he told reporters. Father Daniel contends that the woman—who was thought to be schizophrenic—was in fact possessed

by the devil, and the whole crucifixion was his scheme to relieve her of that particular burden. He and several nuns face prosecution.

## 4.0 Smile for Me, Honey

Molly Beavers was fired after 19 years working as a food demonstrator at a Sam's Club in Clearwater, Florida, reports the *St. Petersburg Times*. Her offense? She didn't smile enough at customers and coworkers. Problem is, Beavers is an achondroplastic dwarf, and surgery done to help her condition left a permanent scowl on her face. When she explained that fact to her manager, she says, he responded, “That's no excuse.”

Beavers has filed suit against parent company Wal-Mart. She suspects the real reason she was fired was the worker's comp claim she filed after some equipment fell on her. Interestingly, Sam's Club neither processed the claim nor paid for treatment, according to Beavers' complaint.

—Dave Mulcahey



# Network Neutrality Now

As “open access” dies, a new battle begins.

By Jeff Chester and Gary O. Larson

AND THEN THERE WERE two. That, at least, is the stark prospect facing us in the area of broadband communications, with the Supreme Court's decision in *National Cable & Telecommunications Association v. Brand X Internet Services* setting the stage for just two companies—the local cable monopoly and the incumbent telephone giant—to control the “last-mile” broadband connections to our homes and businesses.

This broadband “duopoly” stands in sharp contrast to the vast numbers of Internet service providers (ISPs, some 7,000 of them at their peak) who plied their trade during the '90s. The dial-up connections they offered may have been slow in comparison to the swift cable and DSL networks of today, but competition and innovation online were fast and furious throughout the '90s, when the sheer diversity of applications and services made the Internet what it is today.

While the *Brand X* decision hinged on technical and legal considerations (specifically, whether cable modems should be classified as regulated “telecommunications” or as unregulated “information” services, and whether the Ninth Circuit Court should have deferred to the FCC's purported expertise on this issue), now that the decision has been rendered, the task for media reformers is clear: The battle for broadband open access may have ended, but the battle for network neu-

trality has just begun.

ISP choice may now be a dead issue, in other words, since the FCC is likely to extend cable's exemption from line-sharing requirements to the telephone companies' broadband networks as well. But content and application choice remains very much alive. No longer a novelty or a luxury, the Internet is simply too important—to our economy, our culture, our democracy—to be left to the whims of the marketplace—particularly when that marketplace is dominated locally by two corporate behemoths.

Either by legislative fiat or by regulatory policy, we now need a guarantee of nondiscriminatory transport of all information in the high-speed Internet. Whatever else the cable and telephone companies elect to do with their broadband networks (and both seem bent on the so-called triple play of video, voice, and data), one thing they should not be permitted to do is tamper in any unnecessary way with the data we choose to send and receive or the applications and services we desire to employ.

Thus even as the old battle for “open access” has ended, the new battle for net neutrality and for freedom of choice online must now begin. ■

**JEFF CHESTER** is executive director of the Center for Digital Democracy, a nonprofit committed to preserving the openness and diversity of the Internet in the broadband era.

**GARY O. LARSON** is a writer/researcher at CDD.



# Split Decision On File-Sharing

Grokster may be a goner, but  
swaping is here to stay.

By Mike Godwin

**T**HE SUPREME COURT'S June 27 decision in *MGM v. Grokster* is not quite as bad as the tech companies feared it would be, and not nearly as good as the content companies hoped it would be. Unfortunately, the decision also lacks the clarity that the rest of us hoped it would have. As a result, we can reasonably expect more litigation for some time to come.

In *Grokster*, the Court reversed lower courts' summary judgment on the issue of whether the current software offered by defendants Grokster and Streamcast was lawful, and then went on to adopt a new theory for liability—the intentional “inducement of infringement.”

The new rule marks a departure from the two-decade old “bright line” test of *Sony Corp. v. Universal City Studios*, which held that a technology is lawful if it is “capable of substantial noninfringing use,” even when that technology is widely used for infringement. Post-*Grokster*, a technology-providing defendant will have to prove it didn't create or distribute tools that can be used for copyright infringement with the intent of causing such infringement.

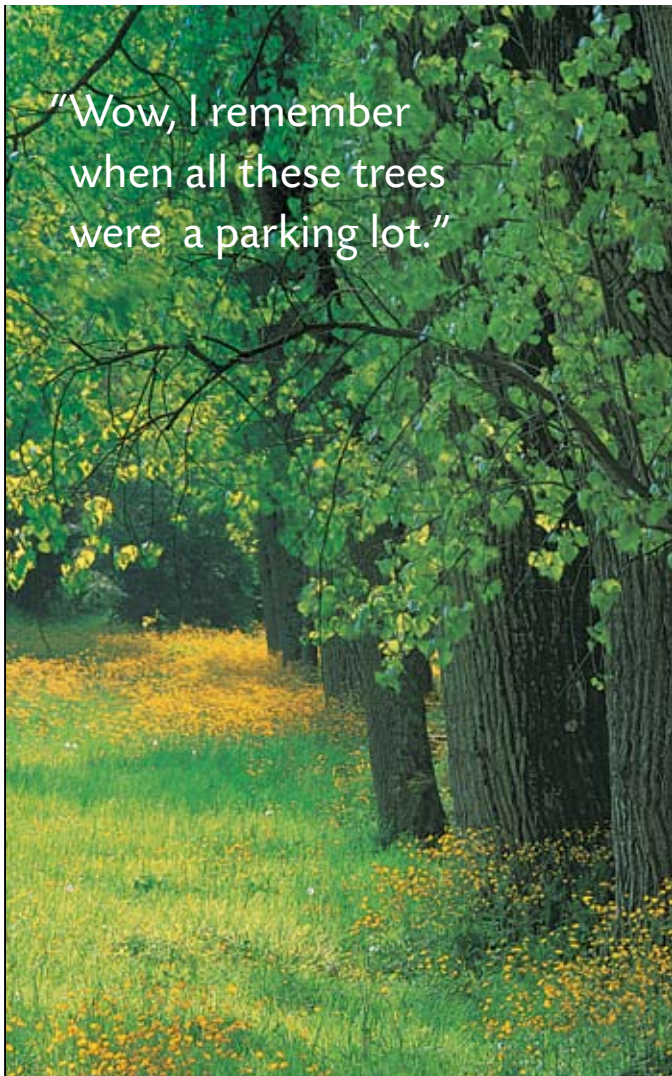
Proving a negative is hard in any situation, and for a defendant in this type of case, it probably means turning over just about all records to whoever is suing you, so that the plaintiff can dig for incriminating e-mails and memos about what the defendants knew and

when they knew it.

It's clear the Supreme Court was trying to preserve the fundamental effect of the *Sony* rule, which has given breathing space for the development of new consumer technologies from the iPod to TiVo. Still, the *Grokster* case likely means that U.S. technology developers will be thinking a lot harder in the future over whether the *next* iPod or TiVo is going to trigger litigation, and about how they describe the features of new technologies, both in public statements and in private communications. Whether this means a “chill” on product innovation in the long term is still up for grabs, but the tech community—including companies that disapprove of the file-sharing tech providers like Grokster—is fearing the worst.

What probably won't be affected, however, is the willingness of ordinary Americans to share their cultural enthusiasms—music, TV, movies, and everything else—in the online world. That impulse has accompanied every era of recording technology—it's why our fathers and grandfathers hooked up reel-to-reel tape recorders to their hi-fi equipment. Regardless of the outcome of the *Grokster* case and the cases that are sure to come, file-sharing won't be going away anytime soon. It's up to the content creators and our culture at large to adapt to a new world. ■

**MIKE GODWIN** is the legal director of Public Knowledge. Read his blog at [www.godwinslaw.org/](http://www.godwinslaw.org/).



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when all these trees  
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# Freedom of Repression

New ruling will allow censorship of campus publications. *By John K. Wilson*

FOR ALMOST FIVE YEARS, the *Innovator* newspaper at Governors State University has been absent from the suburban Chicago campus, banished by the administration's demands for prior approval of its content.

After a June 20 decision by the 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, the *Innovator* may never be seen again—and many other campus newspapers may join it on the list of publications censored or eliminated for questioning the status quo.

The decision in *Hosty v. Carter* demonstrates the threat that right-wing judges pose to freedom of expression in America. The majority opinion, written by conservative judge Frank Easterbrook and supported by other conservative justices such as Richard Posner, is a classic example of judicial activism. Easterbrook's convoluted opinion abandons well-established precedents supporting the free expression rights of college students, and gives college administrators near-absolute authority to control the content of student newspapers.

The facts of the *Hosty* case are particularly appalling. On November 1, 2000, Governors State Dean Patricia Carter called the *Innovator's* printer, attempting to stop the publication of the newspaper. When she discovered that she was too late, she ordered the printer to give her future newspapers before they were printed so that she could approve content. Two days later, the president of the university wrote a campus-wide memo denouncing the *Innovator*



because of its coverage of the firing of the newspaper's advisor (who later won an award for wrongful dismissal). Editor-in-Chief Jeni Porche and managing editor Margaret Hosty fought back, refusing to accept the administration's demands for censorship.

Easterbrook built his logic upon the Supreme Court's 1988 *Hazelwood* case, which gave high school principals limited authority to control newspapers created in the classroom. *Hazelwood* has had a disastrous impact, supporting censorship of the student press. The *Hosty* decision not only applies *Hazelwood* to college students, but greatly expands the scope of censorship to cover any newspaper or, potentially, any activity subsidized with student fees.

The *Hosty* case is only part of the growing conservative attack on freedom of speech on campus. An alternative

newspaper at the University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire was denied funding in 2005 because the student government thought it was too "political." Arizona's state budget for next year includes a ban on state appropriations for college student newspapers after a campus sex column offended legislators.

And David Horowitz's Academic Bill of Rights has been introduced as legislation in more than a dozen state legislatures; some versions of the bill would compel grievance procedures at all public (and even private) colleges to enable students to start investigations against professors who express political views or who assign reading lists deemed "too liberal." Horowitz has even threatened to sue Lehigh University after it allowed Michael Moore to speak on campus last fall,

claiming that this violated the school's nonprofit status.

But the *Hosty* decision is so extreme in denying student liberties that even conservatives are worried. Charles Mitchell, a program officer at the right-leaning civil liberties group Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, noted, "*Hosty* will give college administrators yet another excuse to indulge their taste for squelching speech—and that's never a good thing for liberty."

Although the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals only covers Illinois, Wisconsin and Indiana, the decision will enable administrators across the country to censor papers without penalty. Under the "qualified immunity" standard, state officials are only liable for violating constitutional rights when the law is clear, and the *Hosty* decision raises serious doubts about whether college students have any rights. And if administrators can legally treat college students the same as elementary school students, what will happen to academic freedom?

The Society for Professional Journalists (SPJ) president Irwin Gratz said, "It is a sad day for journalism in the United States." The SPJ and dozens of journalism groups joined an amicus brief in the case, urging the 7th Circuit to defend freedom of the press on campus.

"My co-plaintiffs and I are resolved to appeal to the nation's highest court," said Hosty. ■

**JOHN K. WILSON** is coordinator of the Independent Press Association's Campus Journalism Project ([www.indypress.org/cjp](http://www.indypress.org/cjp)). He provided advice to the plaintiffs in *Hosty v. Carter*, and has a Web site about the case at [www.collegefreedom.org/gsu.htm](http://www.collegefreedom.org/gsu.htm). His forthcoming book is *Patriotic Correctness: Academic Freedom and Its Enemies*, from Paradigm Publishing.



**I**DON'T LIKE DOING THIS. IT'S NOT SOMETHING I want to do," says Aidan Delgado of his public presentations. "I feel like I have to do it."

A veteran of the Iraq war, Delgado, 23, has spoken to students, churches and peace groups across the country. "The media's not giving the full picture," he says. "Nobody's seeing the ugly side, the underside of the war, and it's something that I've seen, so I feel like I have to share it with people."

In March, Delgado participated in a daylong teach-in on military recruitment at Berkeley High School in California. Students and concerned teachers organized the event in response to the increased presence of recruiters, who are able to target high school students like never before, thanks to Section 9528 of the No Child Left Behind Act. "There's a lot about being in the army that recruiters are not going to tell you," Delgado says.

Delgado signed up for the Army Reserves on the morning of September 11, 2001. Shortly after signing his contract, two infamous planes hit the World Trade Center, gravely affecting the consequences of his enlistment. Like a lot of enlistees, Aidan was looking for something meaningful to do with his life and the Army seemed like a good opportunity. However, joining the reserves no longer means part-time weekend duty; it increasingly requires seeing "action." About a year and a half after joining the reserves, Delgado was deployed to Iraq.

Unlike most soldiers, Delgado speaks Arabic, having grown up in Egypt as a diplomat's son, and was able to communicate with Iraqis. He thought differently about fighting after interacting with prisoners of war. "When I came face to face with the people who were supposed to be my enemies, I thought that I had no reason to fight them," he says. "They were the same as the guys in my unit." The captured men were mostly young and uneducated, and did not have many choices in life.

"I felt like they were trapped in the war as much as I was and we were all victims of it, so I felt that fighting them would be wrong," he says.

During his third month in Iraq, Delgado told his commander that he wanted to be a conscientious objector. "I turned in my weapon, I said 'I'll stay. I'll finish my duty, but I'm not going to fight. I'm not going to kill anyone.'"

Obtaining conscientious objector status was difficult. Delgado endured investigative interviews, bureaucratic paper work, and harassment from his superiors and his peers, some of whom regarded him as a traitor. His commanders also confiscated part of his body armor, rescinded his leave time and assigned him to 16-18 hour shifts. Delgado was granted conscientious objector status and an

honorable discharge only after completing his year-long tour in Iraq.

At Berkeley, Delgado began his slide show by explaining, "I'm not trying to shock you. I'm not trying to show you war pornography, but you're getting to the age now when you're going to have to deal with this stuff ... if you're old enough to fight,

## A Different Duty

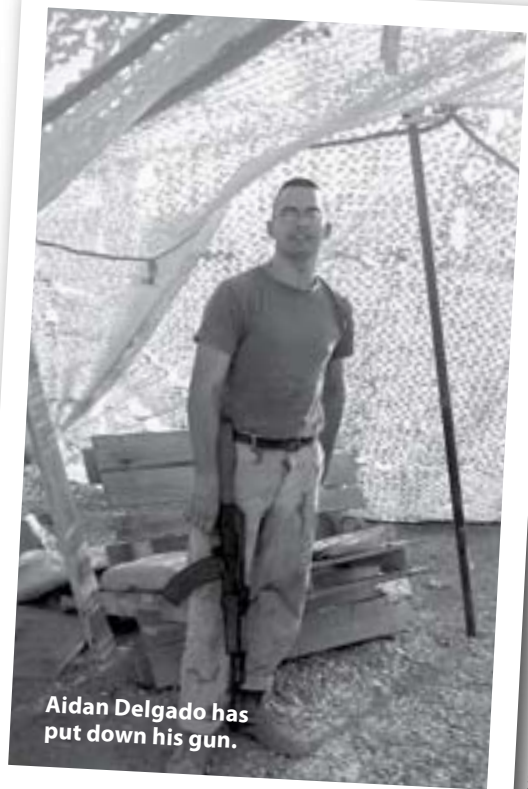
By Lisa Sousa

you are old enough to see what the reality is."

The teenagers gasped as Delgado presented one of the more gruesome slides of a man's head ripped open by machine gun bullets—a prisoner at Abu Ghraib prison, where Delgado's unit was stationed during the final six months of his deployment. Delgado was at Abu Ghraib when the infamous torture occurred. Although he did not have direct knowledge of the incidents, he had heard rumors of abuses.

The man depicted in Delgado's slideshow was killed during a prison protest on November 24, 2003. Armed with sticks and stones, the prisoners demonstrated against their harsh living conditions. The soldiers on duty secured permission to use lethal force in response, wounding nine and killing three. Afterwards, a few of the soldiers photographed each other posing with the corpses. "This was real common stuff at Abu Ghraib," Delgado says.

Delgado challenged the students to think critically before enlisting in the military. After receiving a chorus of boos in reply to his question of whether the students liked high school, Delgado said that the military was quite similar to high school, only "your toughest teacher lives with you and has a gun." ■



COURTESY OF AIDAN DELGADO

**LISA SOUSA** is a media activist with StreetLevel TV ([www.streetleveltv.org](http://www.streetleveltv.org)) in San Francisco.





## Back Talk *By Susan J. Douglas*

# The Immoral Majority

The religious right wants to include moral values in the debate over how our taxes are spent? Bring it on.

**B**ACK IN THE LATE '70S, THE REPUBLICANS learned that if you hailed people as "taxpayers" rather than citizens, and appealed to their meaner instincts, you could convince many that they were downright righteous to withhold their money from supporting the common good.

Why should hard-working, responsible people who never themselves got a "hand-out"—as the line went—see their hard-earned dollars spent on child welfare, public schools or, worst of all, abortions for women who could not afford them? With this last gambit, the Republicans launched on their long and successful campaign to insist that the spending of Americans' tax dollars pass a morality litmus test.

So it is hardly surprising that Congress's avatar of virtue, Tom DeLay, was adamant that Americans consider embryonic stem cell research "immoral," and therefore feel that it is "morally indefensible" to use their tax dollars to support this research. The usual phalanx of smooth-faced, Ken-doll-coiffed evangelicals blanketed the airwaves with this same mantra: Taxpayers would be morally outraged to have their money spent to "destroy life."

They are, well, dead wrong. Polls vary, but approval for stem cell research has actually increased over the past five years, and approval goes up the more poll respondents know about the issue. Last summer, a Harris poll showed 73 percent of Americans supporting stem cell research, and a Pew Center poll in May showed 65 percent support among those who had "heard a lot" about the issue. Even 45 percent of Republicans support the research.

But I find myself warming up to this taxes and morality equation; the Democrats should steal it immediately. And the savings would be enormous: If those of us in the true moral majority withheld our tax dollars from spending that we find immoral, the deficit would shrivel up.

For example, a recent CNN poll found that 57 percent of Americans said it had not been worth going to war in Iraq, an increase since January. Many of us feel that it is highly immoral to have spent at least \$180 billion to terminate the lives of 1,700 U.S. soldiers and probably more than 100,000 Iraqis, and to further destroy the lives of thousands of our soldiers who have returned home horribly maimed and injured. Carrie Gordon Earll of the right-wing Focus on the Family asserted in her opposition to stem cell research, "Federal dollars should not be used to destroy young humans."

Hey Carrie, Amen. It is morally indefensible that our tax dollars have supported the elimination of electricity, water, jobs, health care and basic safety of thousands of Iraqis. This moral outrage must stop.

Millions of us—at least twice as many more than the "culture of life" zealots who are against stem cell research—oppose the death penalty. Again, various polls show support declining—46 percent favor life without parole versus execution. And talk about squandering our tax dollars immorally: One estimate put the cost of New York's death penalty (reinstated in 1995) at \$160 million, or \$23 million per person sentenced to death. A Tennessee study estimated that death penalty trials cost 48 percent more than trials seeking life imprisonment. In other words, the death penalty is a wasteful government program.

How about the morality of giving tax cuts to millionaires while 11 million kids have no health insurance? While the Democrats have been terrified to take on the Bush tax cuts, polls show that 54 percent of Americans feel the federal tax cuts have not been worth it because they have increased the deficit and caused cuts in federal programs. Your and my taxes go to paying a whopping \$317 billion in interest on the national debt. Note to Democrats: These tax cuts are morally indefensible. Say so.

Do the "culture of life" people feel it is moral to despoil the land and then make taxpayers clean it up? Team Bush is now allowing mining companies to dump toxic waste on public lands without liability. According to *The Progress Report*, "More toxic waste is produced by hard rock mining than any other industry in America." Who pays for clean up? You and I—our tax dollars at work.

And finally, while Donald "I-know-no-shame" Rumsfeld called the Amnesty International report condemning conditions at Guantánamo "reprehensible," what is truly reprehensible is that our tax dollars support the ongoing incarceration, humiliation and torture of detainees there. The usually spineless Sen. Joe Biden (D-Del.) has belatedly called for Gitmo to be shut down, but not on moral grounds. Yet millions of us are sickened and mortified that these practices are conducted in our name.

The religious right wants to talk moral values and taxes? Let's bring it on. Every time Team Bush and their flock want to fund more wars, torture, economic inequality and environmental ruin—all of which terminate life—they should hear one phrase back right away: morally indefensible. ■

**SUSAN J. DOUGLAS** is a professor of communications at the University of Michigan and co-author of *The Mommy Myth: The Idealization of Motherhood and How it Has Undermined Women*.



# So Very Sorry

**O**CCASIONALLY I SPEAK PUBLICLY ABOUT THE racial disparities that afflict the prison-industrial complex. I often end my talks with an observation about how racial lynching once was accepted by white Americans because they assumed that the mostly black male victims were guilty.

African Americans had been so thoroughly demonized by the media of those days many whites considered lynching a public service. We marvel at our former acceptance of such racist injustice. But in the future we'll look back on our current apartheid system of criminal justice and shake our heads in disbelief.

I thought about this when the Senate passed a voice vote apology for its inaction in the face of a documented 4,743 lynchings from 1882 to 1968. Most of those mob murders were of black men in the South.

During that period about 200 anti-lynching bills were introduced in Congress. Although three bills passed the House, the Senate, dominated by filibustering Dixiecrats, always said no.

On June 13, the Senate passed a non-binding resolution, sponsored by Senators Mary Landrieu (D-La.) and George Allen, (R-Va.), that apologized to the victims and survivors for its failure to act.

The measure "expresses the deepest sympathies and most solemn regrets of the Senate to the descendants of victims of lynching, the ancestors of whom were deprived of life, human dignity and the constitutional protections accorded all citizens of the United States." The resolution also "remembers the history of lynching to ensure that these tragedies will be neither forgotten nor repeated."

Both Landrieu and Allen requested a vote by official roll call. But Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) insisted on a voice vote, which allowed senators to avoid recording their position on the measure. Senators could add their names as co-sponsors, however, and 90 of 100 signed on.

Both senators from the state with the highest number of lynchings (Mississippi) were among those withholding their signatures, as well as senators from New Hampshire and Wyoming.

Expressing public regret for complicity in well-documented cases of domestic terrorism apparently was too risky for the 10 Republican senators who refused to sign as co-sponsors. Many of these same senators are among Congress' fiercest opponents of Islamist terrorism.

While they refused to endorse an apology for abetting racist violence, several of the unsigned senators

also were prominent in later forcing Illinois Democratic Sen. Dick Durbin to apologize for inviting comparisons between abusive treatment of suspected terrorists at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, and the treatment accorded victims of Nazi camps and Soviet gulags.

Had Durbin sought a more cogent comparison between the United States and totalitarian gulags, he could have cited Pelican Bay State Prison in California and made the same point. The United States hosts 6 percent of the world's population and 25 percent of its prisoners; this nation's prison-industrial complex is the new gulag.

What's more, the racist impulse that impelled white hate mobs to lynch black suspects is still recognizable in America's apartheid gulags. Although black men are about 6 percent of the U.S. population they make up about half of the nation's prisoners. Study after study has provided statistics that confirm how racial injustices corrupt and corrode the criminal justice system, yet denial persists.

Some of this denial is being camouflaged by a seeming readiness to atone for the anti-black violence of our nation's racist past. In recent years, some of the most egregious crimes committed during the turbulent period of the civil rights struggle have been re-examined and in some cases, resolved.

Byron de la Beckwith was convicted in 1994 for the sniper murder of Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers; in 2002 Bobby Frank Cherry was convicted for killing four black girls in the infamous 1963 bombing of a church in Birmingham, Ala.

On June 21, a jury convicted Edgar Ray Killen of manslaughter in the 1964 murders of civil rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner in Philadelphia, Miss., and the FBI exhumed the body of Emmett Till in hopes of finding clues to the brutal 1955 murder of the 14-year-old for reportedly whistling at a white woman in Money, Miss.

This new thrust for retroactive racial justice is also, I suspect, a muted reaction to African Americans' increasing push for reparations. The logic of reparations—that historical wounds worsen unless repaired or redressed—is apparent in many of these contemporary efforts.

But even supportive senators seem oblivious to the connection between our past of anti-black brutality and the racial disparities of today's criminal justice system. And although the resolution wanly concedes Senate complicity in mob murders, it does little to compensate victims of a racist terrorism that was culture-deep. ■

The racist impulse that impelled white hate mobs to lynch black suspects is still recognizable in America's prison system.

**SALIM MUWAKKIL** is a senior editor at *In These Times*, a contributing columnist to the *Chicago Tribune* and a *Crime and Communities Media Fellow* of the *Open Society Institute*.



## House Call *By Rep. Lynn Woolsey*

# The Progressive Promise

We believe that the road back for our party and our movement lies in being an unapologetic champion for progressive ideas.

**W**E ARE IN THE MIDST OF A PROGRESSIVE awakening in this country. In my 12 years in Washington, I have never been more confident and optimistic about the future of progressive politics. Nothing has united and mobilized the left like George Bush and this Republican Congress.

Time after time, on issue after issue, the President and his allies have shown nothing but contempt for the values of justice and equal opportunity. Their guiding political philosophy is that the “haves” should have more ... and everyone else be damned.

They have said “No” to health care reform, to funding education, to a higher minimum wage, to a clean environment, to stem cell research, reproductive freedom, to civil rights and voting rights.

But “Yes” to reckless tax cuts, to media concentration, to the PATRIOT Act, to undermining the Bill of Rights and basic constitutional freedoms, to privatizing Social Security, to John Bolton, to abuse at Guantánamo and to the immoral doctrine of pre-emptive war.

The American people are catching on. National polls show that barely one-third of Americans approve of the job Congress is doing. And not even one-fifth agree with the priorities of the Republican leadership.

People are also getting wise to the fact that this is one of the most corrupt Congresses in American history. They’re realizing that Tom DeLay, Grover Norquist, Karl Rove and the rest take their cues not from the American people, but from Jack Abramoff and the K Street crowd.

As one of the two co-chairs of the 60-member Congressional Progressive Caucus, along with my colleague, Rep. Barbara Lee (D-Calif.), we are prepared to help lead our caucus in forceful, impassioned and organized opposition.

But Progressive Caucus members want to do more than speak out against extremism from the right. We want to take on the Bush agenda by providing a comprehensive, thoughtful progressive alternative—what we call the Progressive Promise.

The Progressive Promise is rooted in three core principles: First, fighting for economic justice and security for all. Second, protecting and preserving our civil rights and civil liberties. And third, promoting global peace and security.

We look forward to working closely with our House Leadership and our friend, Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), who has the daunting responsibility of representing our diverse Democratic Caucus and

truly building a big tent under which all Democrats can stand and be heard.

We in the Progressive Caucus believe in that big tent. We will reach out to recruit new members who share our goals and want to join our fight.

What we won’t do is compromise our values. We won’t become conservatism lite. We won’t embrace warmed-over moderate proposals. We believe that the road back for our party and our movement lies in being an unapologetic champion for progressive ideas.

President Bush recently addressed our nation on the situation in Iraq. Not surprisingly, he failed to acknowledge the tragic life-and-death mistakes he’s made. He won’t admit that the war in Iraq was built on a campaign of deception, concede that the insurgency is not in its “last throes” as Vice President Cheney asserts, or come clean and say that we’re spinning our wheels in Iraq. He stubbornly refuses to provide a concrete plan to finally bring our troops home.

As progressives, we are not going to accept the same head-in-the-sand denial, the same stubborn detachment from reality and the same failed leadership. The fact is that a majority of the American people are ahead of many of their elected representatives on many issues. For example, at least 60 percent of Americans want U.S. troops out of Iraq.

That is why there is a growing progressive network taking shape around the country and manifesting itself.

Get out of Washington, D.C. and you witness more and more progressive organizing such as the Progressive Legislators Action Network (PLAN) at the state, city, and community levels. (See page 17.) Go online. There is more progressive blogging and Internet traffic. Progressive media are taking advantage of new opportunities to cut through the homogenized corporate-drivel. And inside the Beltway, progressive scholars and think tanks—established and new ones—are speaking truth to power.

Within the Progressive Caucus, we have for the first time hired a full-time executive director, Bill Goold, to help us focus and coordinate our action agenda. Until we have updated and established a dedicated Web site link, you can contact us at 202-225-5161 and online through [Bill.Goold@mail.house.gov](mailto:Bill.Goold@mail.house.gov).

I am committed to helping progressives inside and outside of Congress work together more closely and effectively than ever before to make good on the Progressive Promise. We won’t rest until it is enacted into law. ■

**U.S. REP. LYNN WOOLSEY** (D-Calif.) is co-chairwoman of the Congressional Progressive Caucus.



# Black Listed Cancer Treatment Could Save Your Life

**Baltimore, MD**— As unbelievable as it seems the key to stopping many cancers has been around for over 30 years. Yet it has been banned. Blocked. And kept out of your medicine cabinet by the very agency designed to protect your health—the FDA.

In 1966, the senior oncologist at a prominent New York hospital rocked the medical world when he developed a serum that “**shrank cancer tumors in 45 minutes!**” 90 minutes later they were gone... Headlines hit every major paper around the world. Scientists and researchers applauded. Time and again this life saving treatment worked miracles, but the FDA ignored the research and hope he brought and shut him down.

You read that right. He was not only shut down—but also forced out of the country where others benefited from his discovery. That was 38 years ago. How many other treatments have they been allowed to hide? Just as in the case of Dr. Burton’s miracle serum these too go unmentioned.

## Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough...

Decades ago, European research scientist Dr. Johanna Budwig, a six-time Nobel Award nominee, discovered a totally natural formula that not only protects against the development of cancer, but people all over the world who have been diagnosed with incurable cancer and sent home to die have actually benefited from her research—and now lead normal lives.

After 30 years of study, Dr. Budwig discovered that the blood of seriously ill cancer patients was deficient in certain substances and nutrients. Yet, healthy blood always contained these ingredients. It was the lack of these nutrients that allowed cancer cells to grow wild and out of control.

By simply eating a combination of two natural and delicious foods (found on page 134) not only can cancer be prevented—but in case after case it was actually healed! “Symptoms of cancer, liver dysfunction, and diabetes were completely alleviated.” Remarkably, what Dr. Budwig discovered was a totally natural way for eradicating cancer.

However, when she went to publish these results so that everyone could benefit—**she was blocked by manufacturers with heavy financial stakes!** For over 10 years now her methods have proved effective—yet she is denied publication—blocked by the giants who don’t want you to read her words.

What’s more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable

natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer & Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

As early as 1947, Virginia Livingston, M.D., isolated a cancer-causing microbe. She noted that every cancer sample analyzed (whether human or other animal) contained it.

This microbe—a bacteria that is actually in each of us from birth to death—multiplies and promotes cancer when the immune system is weakened by disease, stress, or poor nutrition. Worst of all, the microbes secrete a special hormone protector that short-circuits our body’s immune system—allowing the microbes to grow undetected for years. No wonder so many patients are riddled with cancer by the time it is detected. But there is hope even for them...

Turn to page 82 of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* for the delicious diet that can help stop the formation of cancer cells and shrink tumors.

**They walked away from traditional cancer treatments...and were healed!** Throughout the pages of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* you’ll meet real people who were diagnosed with cancer—suffered through harsh conventional treatments—turned their backs on so called modern medicine—only to be miraculously healed by natural means! Here is just a sampling of what others have to say about the book.

“We purchased *How to Fight Cancer & Win*, and immediately my husband started following the recommended diet for his just diagnosed colon cancer. He refused the surgery that our doctors advised. Since following the regime recommended in the book he has had no problems at all, cancer-wise. If not cured, we believe the cancer has to be in remission.”

—Thelma B.

“I bought *How to Fight Cancer & Win* and this has to be the greatest book I’ve ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today.”

—Hugh M.

“I can’t find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. You had to do an enormous amount of research to bring this vast and most important knowledge to your readers.

My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to sur-

gically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was one point two.”

—Duncan M.

“In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more ‘down to earth,’ practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure.”

—Edward S., M.D.

“As a cancer patient who has been battling lymphatic cancer on and off for almost three years now, I was very pleased to stumble across *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. The book was inspiring, well-written and packed with useful information for any cancer patient looking to maximize his or her chances for recovery.”

—Romany S.

“I’ve been incorporating Dr. Budwig’s natural remedy into my diet and have told others about it. Your book is very informative and has information I’ve never heard about before (and I’ve read many books on the cancer and nutrition link). Thanks for the wonderful information.”

—Molly G.

Don’t waste another minute. There are only a limited number of books in stock—and unless order volume is extraordinarily high we may not be able to print more life-saving copies. Claim your book today and you will be one of the lucky few who no longer have to wait for cures that get pushed “underground” by big business and money hungry giants.

To get your copy of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* call **1-888-821-3609** and ask for code **P6F5H** to order by credit card or order online at [www.agorahealthbooks.com/times](http://www.agorahealthbooks.com/times). Or write “Fight Cancer—Dept. P6F5H” on a plain piece of paper with your name, address, phone number (in case we have a question about your order) and mail it with a check for \$19.95 plus \$5.00 shipping to:

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Montana governor Brian Schweitzer based his agenda on conversations with ordinary citizens.

OFFICE OF GOVERNOR SCHWEITZER

# The Progressive Frontier

The governor of the Big Sky state has important lessons to teach Democrats across the nation. *By Matt Singer*

**L**AST NOVEMBER<sup>2</sup>, AS PROGRESSIVES watched state after state turn red in the presidential race—and in Senate races that were supposed to be close—something funny was happening in Montana: The state that went for Bush by 20 percent handed a solid victory to a new Democratic governor. 49-year-old rancher Brian Schweitzer. And, unlike other elected red-state Democrats, it quickly became clear he was not going to be alone at the top.

Along with the governorship, Montana Democrats seized three other important statewide executive offices: held their majority on the state's Public Service Commission; took a majority in the State Senate and fought

their way to a 50-50 draw in the State House.

Since then, Democrats across the country have turned to Montana for answers and hope. Some critics denigrate Schweitzer's victory, claiming that a red-state Democrat must simply be a Republican lite. But that analysis falls flat: Schweitzer is a strong proponent of choice, as well as an advocate for the environment and for middle-class Montanans. And those who have seen the outspoken Schweitzer challenge the Bush administration in the press lately realize: Real Democrats, not faux Republicans, won in Montana.

If Democrats can succeed this well in Montana, they can win anywhere. The question is how.

A decade ago, the Montana Democratic Party began a period of rebuilding. The Republican Party held the governor's office and controlled both chambers of the legislature by overwhelming majorities. The Democrats committed themselves to the basics. They engaged in a strategic planning process that defined clear, attainable goals. They focused on recruiting candidates who would work hard and win. And they trained candidates and volunteers in the organizing model of grassroots advocacy groups. Democrats soon started making gains in legislative races.

But 2000 was to prove a bad year for Montana Democrats. With Al Gore running, the Democrats lost the top-of-the-ticket race



by <sup>25</sup> percent. Bush's coattails proved too much to overcome down-ticket and strong, experienced Democrats lost their races for the governor's office and for Montana's lone House seat.

But neither of these tested candidates made the best showing for a Democrat in Montana that year. That title went to Schweitzer, who at that point was an upstart rancher from northwest Montana who started his campaign for U.S. Senate with zero percent name recognition and ended it as the populist hero who took seniors to Canada for cheaper prescription drugs.

Meeting the man, it is clear how he grew in the public mind. Schweitzer is a big man, athletic, and ready with a handshake and a smile for anyone who greets him. He talks loudly, plainly and quickly, with ideas flowing out of his mouth at near breakneck pace. He works hard, sleeps little and is known for reading Montana's newspapers as they become available online in the wee hours of the morning.

When a reporter from an independent weekly newspaper visited his ranch to write a profile, Schweitzer took him shooting. After he won the gubernatorial election, Schweitzer threw a massive inaugural ball with three venues and more than <sup>3,000</sup> guests. When Butte, Montana's famous M&M bar reopened, Schweitzer stood in the middle of the bar at <sup>10</sup> a.m., downing a shot of Jameson's.

Five years later, when he is asked what he could have done differently in <sup>2000</sup>, Schweitzer shrugs off the defeat. "That race against [Republican Senate opponent Conrad] Burns," he says, "was probably an unwinnable race because of how well Bush did." Nevertheless, he brought the race to within <sup>4</sup> percent and made a name for himself.

## Closing the gap

Both Schweitzer and the Democratic Party walked away from <sup>2000</sup> realizing they would have to do more in order to win the big races again.

"We ran a good race and had good candidates," explains Brad Martin, the executive director of the Montana Democratic Party. "One thing that became clear was the impact of the presidential race on the state races. Essentially, our statewide candidates made up a <sup>25</sup>-point deficit. That means about <sup>20</sup> percent of Bush's voters were

crossing over and voting Democratic in one of those races."

It became the party's job to narrow the margin in the presidential race. So, Martin says, the Democrats decided to make sure that their Montana candidates did not fall prey to national Democratic stereotypes. They sought out key constituencies by starting agriculture, small business and sportsman roundtables. The party hired a communications director to move beyond the basics of press releases. And the party recommitted itself to building its grassroots base—central committees and volunteers.

Montana Democrats realized they had another problem, according to Martin. Voters didn't know that Democrats had an economic plan. "The party did a statewide listening tour," he says. Legislative leaders crossed the state to meet with business and labor leaders and compile an economic plan. "We took it to small towns, large towns. We literally laid out a <sup>22</sup>-point plan."

Meanwhile, Schweitzer started running for governor virtually the day after he lost his race for the Senate. "For a year and a half," he says, "I read all the newspapers in Montana, read the letters to the editor. When I read a cool letter, I would write them a letter and tell them that. So many candidates think that two weeks before the election, they're somehow going to gin up people to write letters for them. We'd build relationships with people who already wrote letters rather than trying to get new people to write letters to the editor."

He drove across the state, meeting people in rural areas and asking what they needed from government. Those discussions resulted in an agenda that included healthcare reform, economic development and a new approach to higher education with an increased emphasis on community colleges and technical schools. Schweitzer then took his new issue agenda and crossed the state again, giving speeches that never fell into wonk speak. Instead, Schweitzer ran on values, delivering a talk about his family homesteading in Montana, building a church and a community with their friends and neighbors. He talked about being a Bobcat (a graduate of Montana State). He talked about talking to people.

*Continued on page 37*

## Man with the PLAN

Brian Schweitzer's election as governor of Montana was preceded by years of work. The efforts included the development of a solid economic agenda, a coordinated communications strategy and the improvement of grassroots organizing. Now, some of the key architects of Schweitzer's victory are teaming up with other progressives on a new project to solidify gains at the state level.

The Progressive Legislative Action Network (PLAN) will soon launch in Seattle, to coincide with the annual meeting of the National Conference of State Legislatures. The new organization is devoting itself to providing solid public policy research to progressive state legislators. But PLAN is also going to take it one step further by providing assistance to legislators, their staffs and grassroots advocacy organizations to ensure that progressives achieve success at the state level.

Schweitzer, along with former Vice Presidential candidate John Edwards and former San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown, will be featured speakers at the inaugural event. In the wings, steering the organization, will be some of the same people who helped land Schweitzer in the governor's office.

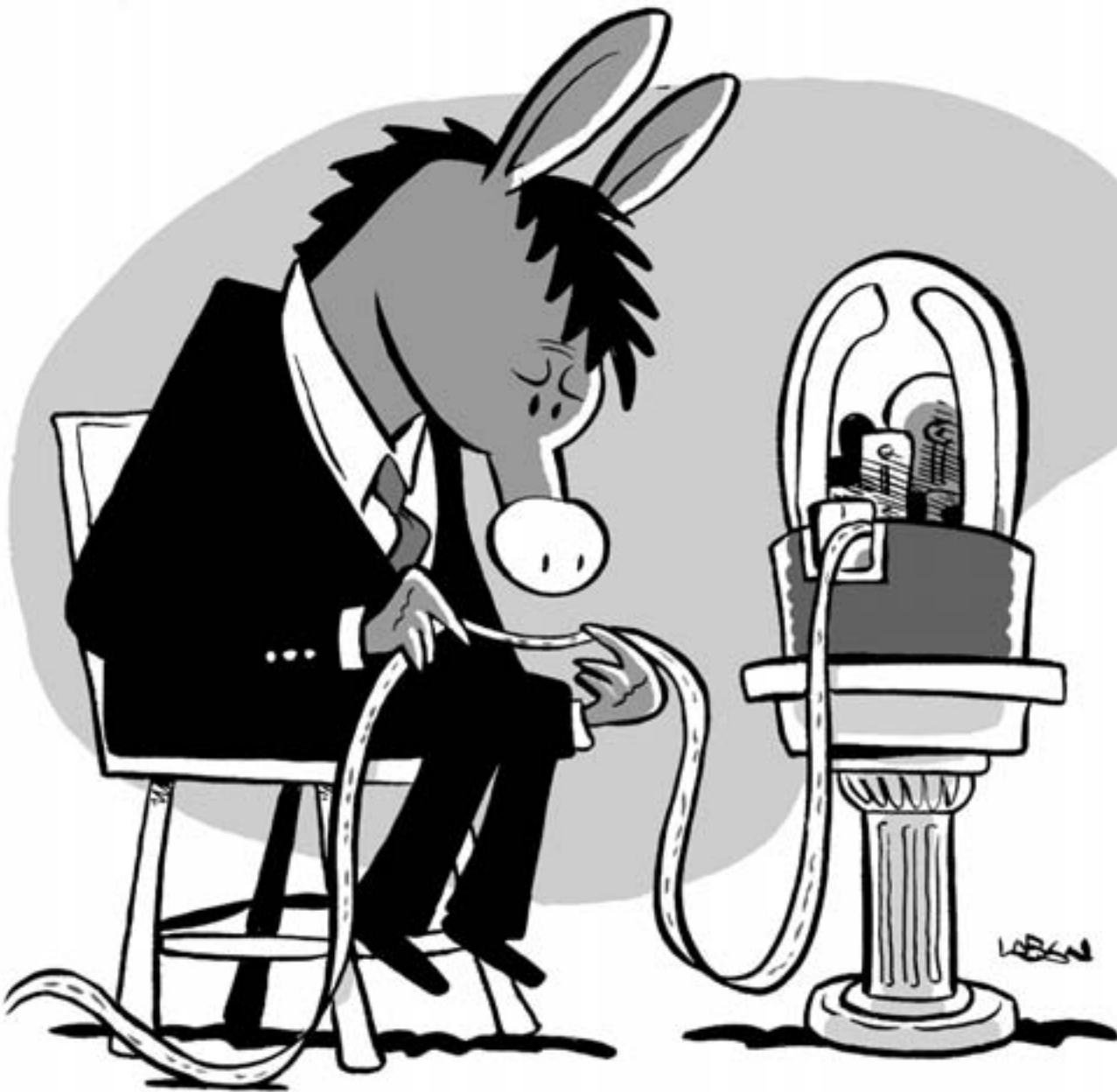
"No one argues that we progressives need to be doing a better job of countering right-wing organizations like the American Legislative Exchange Council [ALEC]," the corporate-backed conservative action network for state legislators, says *In These Times* Senior Editor David Sirota, who worked on Schweitzer's campaign and is now co-director of PLAN.

Sirota says PLAN will work alongside other progressive organizations but focus more on aggressive advocacy, working side-by-side with legislators and state-based grassroots organizations.

"The key to this," Sirota says, "is getting outside of Washington, D.C., and really starting to use our state leaders as high-profile spokespeople. For too long, progressives have been marginalized by the insulated Beltway establishment that says the only place where action happens is in Washington, D.C. That's just not true. We have hundreds of incredible state legislators who are talented, driven and progressive—and it is time for their voices to be heard and their work to take center stage."

In addition to Sirota, PLAN's leadership includes Steve Doherty, a former Montana state senator; Dave McAlpin, a Montana state legislator who directed Montana Democrats' coordinated campaign in 2004; Joel Barkin, former press secretary to Congressman Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.); Adam Schafer, of the National Conference of Environmental Legislators; and Lisa Seitz Gruwell, political director for Andy and Deborah Rappaport.





# The Case for a Democratic Marker

BY CHRISTOPHER HAYES

**J**OURNALIST AND HISTORIAN RICK PERLSTEIN'S NEW BOOK, *The Stock Ticker and the Superjumbo: How the Democrats Can Once Again Become America's Dominant Political Party*, begins with a "political parable" about the rise and decline of the American airplane giant Boeing. Founded in 1917 with a singular vision of cheap, accessible commercial air travel despite its huge risks, Boeing ultimately became one of the country's most successful companies by sticking to its ambitious vision through thick and thin. In the '80s, just as they were abandoning this long-term thinking for the quarterly profit-driven tactics approved by Wall Street, the upstart Airbus came onto the scene with their own long-term vision of the superjumbo. Boeing thought it folly, but it now appears that Airbus will get the last laugh—their new

plane, the world's largest passenger aircraft, made its maiden voyage in April. For Perlstein, author of *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus*, this story serves as an analogy for the fortunes of the Democrats, who abandoned their own long-term project in the centrist '90s to please the "stock ticker" of the next election. Perlstein took time away from work on his forthcoming sequel to *Before the Storm* to talk about why Democrats must recommit to a long-term vision and stop playing by stock ticker rules.

*You have this analogy between Boeing's multi-generational devotion to building the first jumbo jet and the Democratic Party's multi-generational commitment to insuring economic*

**security. How have successive generations of Democrats built on the same project?**

Take something like federal aid to education. That was an idea Democrats had ever since the New Deal. It never succeeded for various political reasons, but they just kept at it and by <sup>1965</sup> Lyndon Johnson finally passed the thing. By that time everyone knew what the Democrats were about: They were the party that supported federal aid for education. Compare that to when the Clintons proposed their health care plan in the early '90s. He ran and won on the idea that he was going to deliver health care to all Americans, and for various complicated reasons he lost that battle. But instead of saying well, this is what the Democrats are about, we're going to stick to it despite the setback, Hillary Clinton very explicitly said: What I learned was that you have to do things in small steps and incrementally. She specifically backed off the marker that the Democrats laid down, that we are the party defined by our pledge to deliver health care to everyone.

**I like this term marker. What's it mean?**

It's a gambling term. A marker basically is a commitment to pay. In *Guys and Dolls*, Nathan Detroit would say, "that guy holds my marker." It's something you can't back out of, on pain of getting your knees broken. The marker that Republicans have is that everyone who runs for office has to sign a pledge—it's enforced by their own knee-breaker, Grover Norquist—that on pain of political death they're not going to raise taxes.

My thesis is that a commitment that doesn't waiver adds value by the very fact of the commitment. The evidence is that even though the individual initiatives that make up the conservative project poll quite poorly, they've managed to succeed simply because everyone knows what the Republicans stand for. And the most profound exit poll finding in the last election had nothing to do with moral values; it was all the people who said that they disagreed with the Republicans on individual issues, but they voted for George W. Bush anyway because they knew what he stood for.

**He'd given them a marker.**

Exactly. The world is an uncertain and scary place and there's value just in making credible demonstrations of fortitude. Now the amazing thing about this is that it's a virtuous circle for the Democrats. Not only

can we increase the devotion of an electorate that looks at Democrats as piddling and feckless, it just so happens that when you poll the public on what they want, it looks much more like the Democratic agenda than the Republican agenda.

**Okay, but if our superjumbo is "Big Government," many Democrats say that plane won't fly anymore. The project is intellectually bankrupt, we need a new one. What do you say to that?**

Well, first of all, I'm a historian and the only time Democrats have been able to pull together a new majority and to grow was when they laid down these markers, pledges to ordinary Americans that the government would protect their economic interests.

The other thing is, there's a story about economic history of the recent past that historians will find us strange for not speaking about more often, and that's the stagnation of incomes for ordinary Americans. What could be more contemporary? What could be more timely than programs that address that crying need? Between WWII and the '70s the real incomes of Americans doubled. People who used to have outhouses were able to afford vacation cottages. Well, that's dropped off a cliff. If it makes me an old Democrat to try and restore what the Democrats of the '40s, '50s and '60s accomplished, which was running the country, sue me. I'm an old Democrat.

**The most common analysis of why Democrats have strayed from this project—as one New Deal congressman whom you quote says "Freedom Plus Groceries"—points to corporate money. Today's Dems are feeding at the same trough and they can no longer take on the insurance companies, etc. But in the latter half of the book, you provide a fascinating psychological account of why the Democrats strayed from this project, which was sort of born out of the conflict of the '60s.**

Yeah. The trauma of the generation of people who are running the Democratic Party was being blindsided by the political failures of left-of-center boldness. If you look at a lot of the most resonant and stalwart centrists and Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) Democrats, for a lot of them, their political coming-of-age was being blindsided by conservatism. For Bill Clinton, it was losing the governorship in 1980. For Joe Lieberman, it was losing a congressional race in 1980.

For Evan Bayh, the chair of the DLC, it was seeing his dad lose his Senate seat to Dan Quayle in 1980. But the formative traumas of my generation of Democrats—and I'm <sup>35</sup>—have been the failures of left-of-center timidity. So there really is a structural generational battle among Democrats. People of a certain age are terrified that the electorate is going to associate them with the excesses of the '60s, but most voters are too young to remember that stuff. The Republicans keep trying to paint the Democrats as the party of the hippies and punks who burn the flag. **In fact, we just got a new flag-burning amendment.**

Yeah, but there's really less juice you can squeeze out of that orange every year.

**So then how much do you think the political situation has changed since November? Do you see any positive movement forward?**

**With Social Security, where they've said "this far and no farther," could that be leveraged into something a little more ambitious?**

Democratic politicians have done one thing very well this year. They've drawn the line on Social Security. It's been not only morally imperative, but enormously successful politically. The popularity of congressional Democrats has kept going up and the president's popularity keeps going down.

Now think about this: We're talking about a 70-year-old program. They're still drawing on the capital that Democrats bequeathed them 70 years ago. Isn't it their duty to work towards bequeathing some capital for Democrats 70 years from now to draw on? To me, the answer is obvious: Every American needs guaranteed health insurance. Unless these guys create a reason for people to identify with the Democratic Party, they have to work so hard every two years to squeeze out that 51 percent of the vote.

I want to make your job easy, guys. Do you really think that if the Democrats could make a credible pledge to Americans—vote in enough Democrats and you'll never have to pay another health care bill—people would still be voting on gay marriage?

We do have a timid bunch of folks in the Democratic Party, but that doesn't mean all is lost. Timid and cautious people can often express their timidity and cautiousness by being swept up in a tide. We've got to provide the tide and let them surf it. ■

# The Man, the Mag



Jimmy, c. 1970.

COURTESY OF BETH MASCHINOT

## James Weinstein 1926-2005

*In These Times* founding editor and publisher James Weinstein died June 16 at his home in Chicago. He was 78 years old and had been battling brain cancer for several months.

Weinstein began his long and varied career like many leftists of his generation as a member of the Communist Party, which he joined in 1948. Never an unquestioning follower, Weinstein often described himself as a "Groucho Marxist" whose worldview was influenced by *Duck Soup* as well as by *Das Kapital*. His subversive sense of humor did not always go over well with his more doctrinaire comrades. "I never took the dogmatic stuff very seriously," he recently explained, "so within the party I was always known as a somewhat untrustworthy person."

He left the Communist Party in 1956, following public revelations about the atrocities of the Stalin era, and later became a harsh critic of both the party and the Soviet system. Many of his books and articles were devoted to showing that the rise of the U.S. Communist Party after the Russian Revolution fatally compromised what had been a promising American socialist movement. But unlike many of his former colleagues who turned to neoconservatism, he remained a committed and forceful advocate of socialism, holding out the prospect of an authentically American left that could embrace the democratic principles of the old Socialist Party.





# azine, the Legacy

Weinstein was born on July 17, 1926, and grew up in Manhattan. He became interested in politics at the age of 10, while listening to radio dispatches from the Spanish Civil War with his parents. By his freshman year in high school, he was already active in left-wing endeavors, attending the last American Youth Congress in Washington in 1940.

Weinstein attended Cornell University, but his undergraduate career was interrupted by a stint in the U.S. Navy, where he attained the rank of electronic technician's mate 2nd class. He graduated from Cornell in 1949 with a degree in government and then attended Columbia University Law School for one year before dropping out. He returned to Columbia in 1956, earning a master's degree in history under the noted historian Richard Hofstadter.

Weinstein's heart was not, however, in being an academic. He dropped out of graduate school before earning a doctorate, and in 1960 moved to Madison, Wis., where he wrote two seminal books on the Progressive Era and worked as an editor for the scholarly journal *Studies on the Left*. In 1966, he ran unsuccessfully for Congress as an independent in New York's old 19th Congressional District on Manhattan's West Side. The following year he moved to San Francisco, where he founded *Socialist Revolution* (later renamed *Socialist Review*) and the Modern Times bookstore.

Weinstein invested his personal wealth for a variety of political causes and campaigns, but his main passion was publishing. In 1976, he moved to Chicago to found *In These Times*. There, he took great pleasure; he once wrote in "giving talented progressive journalists a place to do what they want to do most—to write about important things without ideological restrictions."

Weinstein's political philosophy, as enunciated in his regular editorials for *In These Times*, rejected sectarian posturing and encouraged progressives to work within the Democratic Party. Alarmed by the breakdown of the American left into a free-for-all of single-issue groups—"many little lefts," he derisively called them—Weinstein preached a practical,

broad-based politics, built around issues of economic justice, corporate accountability and human rights. His ideas were largely ignored during the Reagan and Bush eras, and he conceded that the impact of *In These Times*, from which he retired in 1999, "has fallen far short of our initial hopes." Nonetheless, he remained a political optimist until the end. His final book, *The Long Detour: The History and Future of the American Left*, argued that with the end of the Cold War, "the possibility of a new beginning now exists—if not for a movement that calls itself socialist then for one embodying the underlying principles that gave the old movement its impetus."

Weinstein cited *The Long Detour* as his best work, but critics have lavished praise on his other books. The historian Christopher Lasch, writing in *The New York Review of Books*, described *The Decline of Socialism in America: 1912-1925* as a "brilliant study" which "casts the entire history of the American left wing into a new light." *The Nation*, meanwhile, called his 1968 *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State: 1900-1918* "the most important book written by a radical historian since William Appleman Williams' *Contours of American History*." Weinstein also wrote *Ambiguous Legacy: The Left in American Politics*.

An avid poker player, gourmet and collector of Mexican art, Weinstein led an active social life. One of his proudest moments occurred in 1996, when he was invited to become the first white member of the Original 40 Club, an elite African-American men's club established in 1915, that has been described as the "who's who of black Chicago."

Weinstein is survived by his wife of 15 years, Beth Maschinot; two children from an earlier marriage, Lisa Weinstein of Chicago and Joshua Weinstein of San Francisco; a stepdaughter, Melissa Byrns of Chicago; and a sister, Lois Sontag of Stamford, Conn. A memorial service will be held Monday, August 22, at 1 p.m. at the South Shore Cultural Center in Chicago.

**Miles Harvey**, a former managing editor of *In These Times*, is the author of *The Island of Lost Maps*.

## Jimmy

Jimmy was smart. Jimmy was funny. Jimmy was more energetic than his 30-year-younger wife. Jimmy despised pretension of any kind. Jimmy worked his ass off for what he believed in. Jimmy was politically scheming to the end. All this was self-evident to anyone who knew him.

Jimmy lived his illness much the way he lived his life: only more so. Or maybe it just put who he was in sharper relief.

Jimmy was the epitome of strong-willed and everyone who knew him knew that of him, too. He told himself early on that he was not afraid of this illness, or even of death. He found ways to keep the fear away. Every time the tumor's advance stole some of his functioning, he challenged himself to adapt. This was an immediate, seemingly spontaneous response, not spoken about. When he no longer could calculate payment at the grocery store, he took to carrying large bills, so that he could just hand one over to the clerk with a smile. When the doctor told him he couldn't walk the streets safely because he had "left side inattention," he came home that same day, got up from a nap, said he wanted coffee, ice cream and insisted he was going to walk to the store alone to get it. Of course, insisted on going, too. I followed him as he walked through several blocks of a busy construction zone, grazing his right hand against the fences and buildings, using them as a guide. Afterward he told me that I shouldn't worry; that he had obviously "figured out a system" that would keep him safe.

When he was in California for his radiation treatments, he played poker, and every time I picked him up I was afraid that this would be the day he would realize how confused he could be by numbers, that this would be the day of his mortification. Instead, Jimmy would get in the car and say something like "I netted about \$450—I was up by about \$700 at one point, but then I got confused for a little while. But I didn't do so bad in the end." With a Grade 4 glioblastoma multiforme tumor—a

tumor the pathology report called “exuberant” in its growth—he still ended up winning more money at poker than he lost.

Of course, the tool he used most to hold back his fear and his despair was his sense of humor. None of us present will forget the sight of him lying on the hospital gurney about to be wheeled into the operating room. He had on the sickly mint green hospital gown, the hair net, and a head with magic marker lines to aid the surgeon. He showed absolutely no anxiety. Instead, he began singing in an almost preternaturally flat voice a song from *The Mikado*: “Defer, defer to the Lord High Executioner!” Not one line, not one round of the chorus, but many, many rounds.

It was surreal; it was a beautiful moment, and it was a gift to us. It did not delude any of us into thinking our Jimmy would come back from the operating room unscathed and non-malignant, but it did make me feel that we would make it through the dark night of his illness with his dignity, and mine, intact.

When people called Jimmy in the last month of his life, he was mostly paralyzed, he was incontinent, he was struggling to speak. They would ask him how he was doing. He would respond in his slowed down voice: “I’m DYING (pause, pause, pause—he always had exquisite timing)—but I feel fine.” I could visualize his friends on the other end of the line, making that hard, hard call to the dying man they loved, and being so taken aback—and then relieved—to get that response. Pure Jimmy. Somehow both unsettling and reassuring all at once. (And totally calculated on his part—he said to me as an aside once: “That should make them relax some.”)

The impact Jimmy had on the world around him is often measured by his ideas, his sane analysis of history and politics in a seemingly insane world. He did have an impact, more than most of us dream of having. But those of us who knew him well knew that his heart was as big as his mind. It was his heart that drove his thirst for justice; it was his heart that opened him up to people beyond the privileged circumstances he was born into; it was his heart that made him wise, instead of just smart. I found it fitting that the day before he died, the hospice nurse said, “His heart is beating strong.”

**Beth Maschinot** and James Weinstein were partners for 22 years. She is a grant writer and program evaluator for nonprofits in Chicago.

## Creature Comforts

I was the managing editor of *In These Times* in the early ’80s, when the exhilaration of the antiwar movement had evaporated and the left was trying to find its way forward in the dead air of the disco era. Surely others will have plenty to say about Jimmy’s crucial role in keeping the left alive through those years. He did it with the force of his intellect and with his ferocious dedication to the paper (which would suspend the payroll at least once a year and send us all down to the unemployment office to collect a stipend).

But he also did it indirectly, by showing people like me that we could move into the adult world without forsaking our ideals. It was the dawn of the “yuppie” era. Most of the paper’s staff were just entering their 30s and considering, for the first time, the desirability of a car that started every morning and an apartment without six roommates—not to mention children, a mortgage and job benefits. But the New Left was still the thrall of severe, student movement values, which declared that anything more than a mattress on the floor was suspect and out of bounds.

Jimmy had no trouble reconciling creature comforts with good politics. One day, when a staff member was being attacked for buying a color TV, Jimmy stepped in to say that his buddy Marty Sklar had once been criticized for the same thing. Marty’s defense, which Jimmy quoted with obvious approval, was that “nothing is too good for the working class.”

**Lee Aitken**, a former managing editor of *In These Times* and, later, a former senior editor of *Time* magazine, lives in Paris.

## Look, It’s a Better World

The main thing I remember is how funny Jimmy was, his weakness for dumb puns and wordplay. Right now, only two come to mind: Our all-purpose Chicago winter joke, “Many are cold, few are frozen,” and then a darker pun he made often with me: He would insist he wasn’t my “mentor,” he was my “tormentor.” Which is funny, but brings up one of his many ambivalences—about becoming the older generation, the mentor, the one in charge.



Jimmy at home in Manhattan in 1938.

COURTESY OF BETH MASCHINOT

He was ambivalent about a lot having to do with his role at *In These Times*—fundraising, balancing the budget, managing, giving people bad news—but he was in fact my mentor, and I benefited greatly.

Though he famously started the magazine in Chicago, Jimmy indulged me when I wanted to leave, letting me set up *ITT*’s first California Bureau in Oakland 20 years ago, instead of in Los Angeles, where the hard-nosed, and probably correct, John Judis (another mentor) thought I should have been based. Jimmy argued that the Bay Area was important for cultivating funders and subscribers on the local left. But my first story mainly made us enemies: It was supposed to be about the grand new multiracial coalition coming together behind lefty Oakland City Council member Wilson Riles Jr., which was going to sweep business-oriented Mayor Lionel Wilson out of office. Except, of course, it didn’t—the coalition was run by white lefty sectarians, riven by factionalism, and largely irrelevant to the city’s black majority, which still venerated its first African American mayor. When I turned in a story that said just that, I could hear Jimmy sigh over the phone, imagining the lost subscribers—but he praised my reporting and didn’t change a word. Now, at *Salon*, I think about Jimmy every time we run a story debunking the myth that Bush stole the 2004 election, and I field the angry cancel-my-subscription letters.

Jimmy felt hurt when I left *ITT* after three years, and we didn’t see each other for a while. But when we reconnected much had changed. He’d made peace with being an old guy, a dad, a granddad, a husband and a mentor, too. He said he was proud of me, and accepted that with my work at

*Salon* I'd extended his reach, not severed the connection. And even as we headed into the second Bush term, when I interviewed him for *Salon* about *The Long Detour*, he was calling himself "a pathological optimist" and reminding me how much things had changed in his lifetime, and how much change was still possible: "You hear people in different movements saying how bad things are. 'We haven't won anything,' but that's crazy. Look at gays—look at television, where you have shows like 'Will and Grace' or the gay guys who make over the straight guys. Come on, look, it's a different world, it's a better world." He helped make it one, and I'm grateful to him.

**Joan Walsh**, a former staff writer of *In These Times*, is the editor of *Salon*.

## A Generous Teacher

There are many measures of the man, but one that I have come to believe in over time is "generosity." More than anyone I've known, Jim gave meaning to that word.

Early in my tenure as managing editor of *In These Times*, he'd hand me the keys to his beloved Honda Accord whenever he ventured out of Chicago. After I married, he once loaned us his family's Manhattan co-op with its grand view of Central Park and collection of Impressionist paintings. When I told him a few years ago how much I enjoyed sunsets on the Great Lakes, he insisted that my family borrow his and Beth's weekend getaway in Lakeside, Michigan. We obliged. Four times.

He was at his most generous after he'd prevailed at a poker game the previous night. I'd inquire the next day, "How did you do?" More often than not, he would respond with a sly smile, "I'm taking you to lunch today." This happened so frequently over the 12 years we worked together that I lost

count. Yet I have not lost sight of the abiding lesson that Jimmy taught by his example: Hold on tight to your ideals but share everything else, no strings attached, with those around you. I, and scores of Jimmy's other protégés, are indebted to our teacher.

**Sheryl Larson** was *In These Times* managing editor from 1982 to 1993.

## The Man Who Came to Dinner

When I started at *In These Times* as an intern in 1989, I wasn't far removed from my Republican childhood in upstate New York. What little I knew of the left I'd learned in a Marxist Thought class in college. My grade, a D-minus, was well deserved.

I was not a natural fit for a magazine edited by James Weinstein. Yet Jimmy welcomed me into *ITT*'s editorial offices. And when I began to go broke as an unpaid intern, he and Beth Maschinot let me live in their basement for free. It was a temporary arrangement that lasted seven years. Before long, I was a squatter at their kitchen table as well.

Raised on a diet of TV dinners and Potato Buds, I initially felt as out of place at Jimmy's table as I had at his magazine. For Jimmy was a wonderful cook. Fortunately, his cooking—like his politics—was totally unpretentious. Soon, I was addicted to his ceviche, and I ate it and many other dishes in quantities that were simply scandalous.

Jimmy proved as generous with his time as he did with his food. Plate in hand, I'd follow him into his study, where he'd pull a book from the shelves; not to score a scholarly point, but to help a kid whose politics were rooted in the rocky soil of the '80s understand how rich the legacy of the American left really was—to

help me see that the socialist mayors of Milwaukee and a hundred other U.S. towns had forged a politics as fully American as Ronald Reagan's, and far more serious about the ideals of liberty and justice.

This June, when I visited Jimmy for the last time, I was once again invited to raid the family refrigerator. As in the old days, I speedily devoured a bunch of Jimmy's favorite dishes. I cannot say that I took the time to savor the meals.

I sometimes fear that Jimmy's fine food was wasted on me. The lessons I learned at his table, however, will sustain me the rest of my life.

**Jim McNeill**, a former managing editor of *In These Times* and former editor of *The Racine Laborer*, works for unions and writes in Washington, D.C.

## Hope and Politics

Jimmy understood people. When he decided to talk me into coming from Durham, N.C., to become the culture editor in 1997, he quickly figured out that the road to my heart was through my stomach. After years in the South, I missed the variety of people and foods of my hometown, Chicago. So when I flew up there to talk about the job, he took me for Thai, then Cuban, and for the next meal gave me a choice of seven ethnic groups. On the way to *ITT*, he pointed out how the signs suddenly changed from all Polish to all Spanish. "It's the Polish-Mexican border," he said.

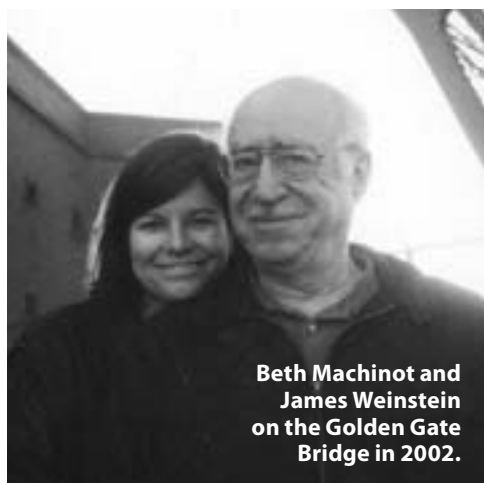
For almost a year, I commuted from North Carolina, spending a week a month in Chicago, staying with Jimmy and Beth. They were good to me, generous. They fed me, made me feel at home, and we told each other our stories. Jimmy told of working in factories, joining the Communist Party, driving Julius Rosenberg, of his poker games, of starting *ITT*. He had more



Poker was an early and abiding love.

COURTESY OF BETH MASCHINOT





**Beth Machinot and James Weinstein on the Golden Gate Bridge in 2002.**

JER MASCHINOT

and better adventures than most people or he told about them better or both.

The story of mine he liked best was about my father who had been a Chicago policeman. He thought it was pretty funny that Dad had worked undercover on the Red Squad in the '50s, keeping an eye on Communists.

Jimmy appreciated how everyone's story was full of twists. Paradoxes. That understanding must have been how he could rail about politics and maintain hope. And why his politics and his company were always so lively.

**Pat Arnow**, a former culture editor of *In These Times*, is a writer and photographer in New York.

## A Socialist in the Age of Triangulation

I had my first glimmering that Jimmy Weinstein was special the first time I met him in the flesh. It was in the mid-'90s, in New York, a time before the fad for the Atkins Diets made what he was about to do seem unusual and even wondrous. He ordered a hamburger—I was used to people his age ordering salad with dressing on the side or “egg beaters” or dry toast or whatever—and he poured half a shaker of salt upon it. He did things his own way: a socialist in the Age of Triangulation.

I really knew Jimmy was special after I moved to Chicago. He had a book coming out and *In These Times* asked me to review it. I said I wasn't interested because I disagreed with it. He thought the Soviet experiment had some nobility in it and I thought it was shit from start to finish. Something extraordinary happened after that: Jimmy Weinstein sought me out as a

friend. This, it seemed, was the requirement: I was someone he knew he could argue with. Thinking about his life, that makes perfect sense. Setting up new staging grounds for arguments—*Studies on the Left*, *Socialist Review*. In *These Times*, the Modern Times bookstore in San Francisco or even a dinner in a Caribbean restaurant where he spun out scenarios for an America without a military-industrial complex in three easy steps while I sat across the table from him and made my case for why that would make the economy collapse—was his life's work from the beginning to the end. I can't think of a calling more noble.

**Rick Perlstein** is the author most recently of *The Stock Ticker* and *The Superjumbo*.

## Farewell Songs

A couple of years ago, Jimmy enrolled in a Spanish language program in Oaxaca, Mexico. He proudly told me that he packed so lightly he didn't need to check his bag at the airport. He could have stayed at a fancy hotel; instead, he chose to board with a family roommate and all. He had a great time and true to himself he only complained about his landlady's cooking skills. “Not a cook,” he said in his blunt way. Jimmy's frugality, his unpretentious personal style, was consistent with his ideology. I found his Old Left politics comfortingly familiar, a connection to the European left I came from. Yes, he could be dogmatic, but his no-non-sense clarity, his uncompromising commitment to placing class at the center of the social change agenda was refreshing in the too-often unfocused climate of the American left.

A few weeks before he died, while I sat with him so Beth could take a break, he and I spent the afternoon singing songs of the Spanish Civil War to each other. A fitting farewell.

**Teresa Prados Torreira** teaches American history at Columbia College, Chicago.

## Jimmeth

The name James always seemed like a misnomer; he was Jimmy Weinstein to those who knew him. His spirit was a little too playful for James. I called him “Jimmeth”. For me, that nickname captured his unique style: humor and rigor. Or was it rigorous humor? Whatever it was, Jimmy could bend you over in a

belly laugh with a humorous aside and then straighten you up with a devastating critique of foreign policy—all in the same sentence.

Jimmy was an avid anti-dogmatist. In fact, I think it was our mutual aversion to dogma that first attracted me to my writing. I was an ideological oddity: a former Black Panther, a former editor of *Muhammad Speaks* and a former news writer for the Associated Press—juxtaposed between black nationalism, the secular left and the journalistic mainstream. By the early '80s, I had reached the conclusion it was my duty to debunk dogma in all of its guises. Jimmy, who had long been weary of dogma, read one of my debunking articles, realized we shared sensibilities and offered me a job. Obviously, he was comfortable with odd juxtapositions. Although a man of the universalist left, Jimmy understood the lure and limited value of black nationalism for African Americans. Almost alone among progressive publications, *In These Times* has continuously examined the race-class dialectic of left politics. Jimmy's contribution to the progressive movement is a large one. For me, he was a sagacious mentor and a kindred spirit—where he remains.

**Salim Muwakkil** is a senior editor of *In These Times*.

JER MASCHINOT



**Jimmy pets a burro in San Martin, Mexico, 2002.**

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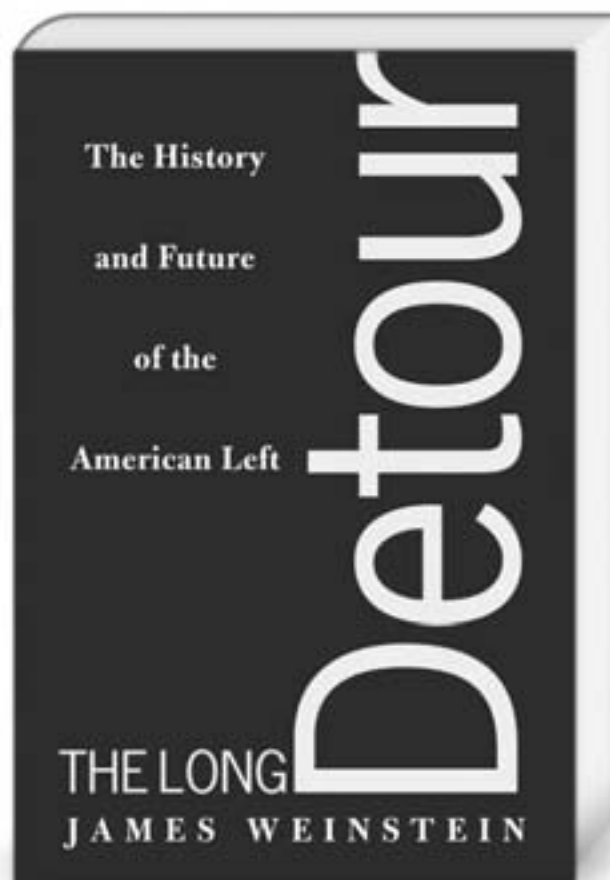
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# The Magazine



## No Sweated Sectarian Madness Here

When I came to *In These Times* in 1995 as a newly hired culture editor, friends and family took it as a decision distinctly on the daft end of the rational career-calculation spectrum, though many had the delicacy to refrain from saying so outright. I had already gone through a couple eventful tours at nonprofit left publications that melted into stupidly fractious labor and political conflicts—culminating in both cases with my quitting without notice. I had also recently been passed over for the editorship of a radical Bay Area journal for the trespass of making insufficient eye contact with the women on the “editorial collective” who interviewed me for the post. Would I never learn the most basic lesson about lefty publishing: that it was all ill-paying, sweated sectarian and identitarian madness?

The premier testament to Jimmy’s singular gifts is, of course, the magazine you hold in your hands: *In These Times* was founded

as a perfect reflection of Jimmy’s temperament: Jimmy deliberately set out to publish it in Chicago, so as to insulate it from the trendy fevers that seized other publications in higher-profile, coastal cities. He also made it the only national left-wing magazine that reported regularly—and critically—on that crucial, if so often heartbreaking, bastion of a renewed left politics, the American labor movement. *ITT*, like Jimmy, never succumbed to sectarian monomanias, or the purist patrolling of identity borders. And like Jimmy, it also kept a healthy sense of humor about itself, taking a lively interest in topics like pop culture and sexuality, and tweaking many brands of lefty self-infatuation just when they needed it most. Jimmy wanted an American left that would be both restlessly critical and, in the best sense, universal, taking all comers while being ever-mindful of maddening, ineradicable human foibles. For him the accent in democratic socialist always fell heavily on the “democratic”—and like the best American socialists he wrote about, he foreswore the great left intoxicant of utopianism not merely as a misguided political ideal, but also as a humorless, inhumane one.

When I arrived at *ITT*, I soon discovered I shared two of Jimmy’s other great passions: the Cubs and lunch. No matter how deeply buried I might be under a mountain of thankless editing chores, Jimmy would regularly come to my desk with a half-mischievous gleam in his eye and announce his need to eat. Resistance would always be futile, and soon he’d be driving (or rather, hurtling, to use a word more suitable to Jimmy’s driving style) into outer Diversey or Rogers Park, on the trail of a Mexican or Thai hole-in-the-wall, regaling me and the other shifting cast of *ITT* lunch regulars with stories of his travels, his past political feuds, the magazine’s earlier editors and writers—all with the same great relish with which he’d tuck into his repast.

And as for the Cubs, remember this was the mid-’90s: We were no Prior-Wood-Baker come-latelies to the Cub fold. When he moved to Chicago in the ’70s, Jimmy had seamlessly transferred his youthful allegiance to the perennially hard-luck Brooklyn Dodgers to the hapless N.L. Northsiders. And as a native Iowan, I’d been cursed with a

lifelong Cub fanship. It was my first love, and its many disappointments set the pattern for many other, later ones. But we both stuck with the Cubs much as we did with the left. Indeed, when at Wrigley for an afternoon game, we’d compare the bleak fortunes of the left with the many indignities visited on the Cubs, and agree that the cruelest fate of Cubs fans was to be saddled with George Will as their self-appointed spokesman.

The last time I spoke with Jimmy was not long before he got news of his illness. He was, of course, getting set to build yet another institution, a new think tank, and would soon be sending off a proposal for me to mark up. And then we talked about an improbable Cub victory earlier in the week; as we marveled at the team’s late-inning heroics, I could picture, over the phone, that half-mischievous gleam in Jimmy’s eye.

**Chris Lehmann**, a former culture editor and managing editor of *In These Times*, lives in Washington, D.C.



## A Lifelong Debt

I first met Jimmy Weinstein in about 1964, through my then-boyfriend Marty Sklar, who was an editor with Jimmy of the journal *Studies on the Left*. As a 23-year-old political naïf, I was baffled by the gender exclusiveness of the *Studies* crowd—which was far worse in this respect than my parents' rather conventional social set—but also fascinated by their intelligence and zeal. I do remember that Jimmy always spoke to me more or less as an equal, which meant a lot to me at the time. A couple of years later, after undergoing my own radicalization in the nascent anti-war movement, I went to work (as a volunteer) with a New York-based group called Committee for Independent Political Action, started by Jimmy and Stanley Aronowitz, where my job was to go door-to-door in a low-income Hispanic neighborhood. Believe me: I learned a lot more from the folks whose doors I knocked on than they did from me. And of course, I continued to learn from Jimmy.

When he started *In These Times*, he took a huge risk by giving me a column. That was my first regular outlet and my chance to flex my talons as a satirist. Eventually I went on in search of something that would help pay the bills, but my debt to Jimmy remains.

**Barbara Ehrenreich**, one of *In These Times*' founding sponsors and contributing editors, is the author most recently of *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America*.

## A Start-Up Socialist Tabloid

I met Jim in October 1976, 28 years ago, a time of national amnesia after the divisive years of Vietnam and Watergate. In the midst of a general political malaise (we were facing a tepid presidential election that offered a choice between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter), I felt a deep yearning for a positive, progressive direction in American politics, but had no idea where to look for signs of it. The search led me to answer a help-wanted ad for a typesetter with a start-up socialist tabloid to be called *In These Times*. I got the job, and by the time we'd finished the prototype issue and were preparing the first edition, I knew I'd found something—and some-



In These Times staff photo, c. 1980.

IN THESE TIMES PHOTO ARCHIVES

one—with a mission and a vision I could believe in and wanted to be part of.

The value of *In These Times* and Jimmy in my life—as mentor, guide, historian, educator, great cook and storyteller, friend and boss—is inestimable. I'll miss his humor, his charm and his wisdom, his friendship. I'll always be grateful to have known him and to have been part of his ambitious undertaking, *In These Times*.

**Jim Rinnert** is a former art director of *In These Times*.

## A Source of Light

When *In These Times* and I stumbled upon each other in 1978—when I was hired without a lot of thought on either part as cultural editor—it was the gift of a lifetime for me.

Jimmy's understanding of politics as the prosaic complex of institutions, structures and actions through which people organize consciously for social change dialed down the noise level on personalist political politics.

It helped me to clarify critical challenges and to ask interesting questions about the constitution of culture. I went on to learn much from Jimmy about the history of the left and came to trust my own distrust for cant and dogma. I came to admire beyond measure the notion that social justice is not a radical demand but an ordinary aspira-

tion of millions upon millions of people. I came to see Jimmy's historical vision as rooted in a profound respect for the capacity of human beings to honor themselves with self-respect and to evoke it in others. He was also a real Gramscian optimist of the will. In one of my last conversations with Jimmy, I asked him what his old ex-communist buddies had thought about the current bleak political climate. He said, in his usual wry way, "They can't see where it can go. But then they remembered that in 1958 they couldn't see where it was going and in 1960 there was the New Left."

Jimmy was an astoundingly generous person (I had the desk next to him and overheard while he quietly arranged assistance, sometimes entirely unrecognized, for friends, colleagues and employees), and he was an admirably generous political thinker. He is one of my sources of light in all the dark times.

**Pat Aufderheide**, a senior editor of *In These Times*, teaches communications at American University.

## Irascible Mentor

Email exchange 3/10/05:

Me to him: "I think of you every day as I look at the Chalmers Johnson book on my bedside table that I am too tired to read."

Jimmy replies: "Read the book ... and push mine [*The Long Detour*]."



How apt: Right to the end: a dear and irascible mentor.

Jimmy instructed all new *ITT* staff to read *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State*. Having become a charter subscriber in 1976 because of reading *Corporate Ideal*, I came to my 1990 interview for a job at “the paper” as associate publisher (or in Jimmy’s lexicon: a “beggar”) unwittingly over-prepared. To my continuing astonishment, I landed the job largely because I had long since reorganized my understanding of contemporary American history around his analysis of the Progressive Era.

Fifteen years hence, I am still stunned: He hired me because I could articulate historical arguments; I had raised money before, but not the boatloads we needed. Could I have raised as much money from thoughtful *ITT* readers over the years if I had understood more about direct mail technique than I did about corporate liberalism? Wily Weinstein thought not.

His impulsive decision reshaped my life. Yet our relationship stayed focused on the essentials: When I saw him on May 28, he made me promise again to “push the book” and did not relax against the pillows until I recorded his instructions in my notebook.

**Beth Schulman** is both a former associate publisher and publisher of *In These Times*.

## No Small Achievement

Jim Weinstein was one of the intellectual leaders of the American progressive movement. At a time when more and more of our media is controlled by huge corporate conglomerates, it is no small achievement that he successfully published a well-respected

independent magazine. *In These Times* for decades. Jim will be sorely missed by those of us who are fighting for a world of peace and justice.

**Bernie Sanders** (I-Vt.) is Vermont’s congressional representative at-large.

## One of the Boys

Jimmy Weinstein took things personally but managed not to personalize them. Let me explain. Ham Fish and I came to *The Nation* (as publisher and editor) in the late ’70s, not long after Jimmy had founded *In These Times*. Weinstein famously used to complain that when he started *In These Times* he thought he would be an editor, but he soon discovered that what he really had to be was a beggar. Regarding *The Nation*, he had an additional complaint: When he discovered that two or three of his friends who had given *In These Times* a modest sum had signed on to give *The Nation* \$50,000 each, he told Alexander Cockburn, who was then writing the “Press Clips” column for the *Village Voice*, that *The Nation* had the ability to raise that kind of money and he didn’t for two reasons: First, *The Nation* was an institution, more than a hundred years old, and second, “Hamilton Fish the fourth [actually the fifth] is the publisher. A ruling class WASP. He goes to my Jewish friends for money and they shell out for him. If I go, I’m just one of the boys. I’m only worth \$1,000 and he’s worth \$50,000.”

Of course Jimmy was more than “one of the boys.” A couple of other late ’70s start-ups—Dave Dellinger’s *Seven Days*, which aspired to be a radical *Time*, and Tom Morgan’s *Politicks*, which was more center-liberal than radical—are no longer with us. But Jimmy, an idealist with no illusions, was indefatigable. In the summer of 1982 he told me that if he didn’t raise the requisite money by the end of year, he might have to shut down the paper, and he sent out a mailing telling his friends “Without your help, we will join Braniff, the A&P and International Harvester on the dustheap of the Reagan recession.” *The Nation* ran a front-page editorial reporting his message and a few days later he was on the phone: “It worked! We just got a check for \$10,000.”

After he finally decided it was time to pack it in, and write another book, *In*

*These Times* needed a new publisher. It didn’t surprise me that he recruited Hamilton Fish to head up the search.

**Victor Navasky** is the publisher of *The Nation* and author most recently of *A Matter of Opinion*.

## Keeping Honest Journalism Alive

When James Weinstein moved to Chicago in 1976, he set out to create a fiercely independent journal that would inform, educate and critically analyze an emerging popular movement on the American left. It was a time, he wrote, when “Americans were beginning to lose faith, not just in a particular politician or administration, but in the existing system.”

Jimmy believed that any political movement—of the left, right or center—must have its own press to inform, critique and give it direction. He modeled *In These Times* on the *Appeal to Reason*, a socialist weekly that reached more than 750,000 subscribers at its peak around 1912. The new paper resembled the *Appeal*—in its Midwestern sensibilities and populist tone, in its orientation toward the labor movement and electoral politics, in its commitment to avoid sectarianism and foster open debate.

*In These Times* was founded at a moment of great optimism for the left—and the new staff reasoned the newspaper would prosper alongside a growing movement. In reality, of course, they were standing on a precipice. As the left foundered and the “New Right” flour-





ished. *In These Times* often struggled to stay afloat. Thankfully, Jimmy remained a “pathological optimist” (especially when it came to budget projections).

I arrived at the magazine straight out of college two decades after its launch. Jimmy would regularly perch himself in my office or buy me lunch at the Red Apple, the all-you-can-eat Polish restaurant up the street, dispensing nuggets of wisdom and sage advice: what I should be reading; where I should be eating; why we needed to do another story on the Pope. He urged me to revisit the early issues of the newspaper. Eventually, I read them all.

When I asked him to share what he’d learned for a book on the first 25 years of the magazine, he quipped: “Not much.” But then he reconsidered: “As small as *In These Times* is in the world of American media,” he wrote, “it has played a vital role in keeping honest journalism alive and giving talented progressive journalists a place to do what they want to do most—to write about important things without ideological restrictions.”

*In These Times* persevered because it always committed its limited resources to honest (but never objective) journalism that challenged the conventional wisdom and refused to follow any party’s line. Being a bit of a pathological optimist myself, I hope *In These Times* will carry on Jimmy’s vision for a magazine—and a movement—dedicated to “liberty and justice for all.”

But it won’t be the same without him.

**Craig Aaron**, a former managing editor, is a senior editor of *In These Times* and the editor of *Appeal to Reason: 25 Years of In These Times*.

## Dear Reader,

Like buskers on the public square, every two weeks (currently three due to budget constraints—the situation is dire) we put our labor and the words of our writers into the pages of *In These Times*. We offer it to you knowing that only by working together can we create the just and humane society we know is possible.

In return we hope that you in the *In These Times* community will respond when we pass the hat—buying gift subscriptions for your friends and family, remembering us in your wills, or contributing according to your means. That’s what we hope, and “hope dies last,” as Studs Terkel notes in his book of that same title. Studs is a member of the *In These Times* Publishing Consortium, a group of people listed on our masthead who, through their contributions of \$5,000 and more per year, hold *In These Times* as a public trust. If you have the means, please consider joining him. If, like me, and the rest of my colleagues here, you have never had \$5,000 to give, please contribute what you can.

In the tradition of our founder James Weinstein, I beg you.

**Yours truly,**  
**Joel Bleifuss, Editor**

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# The Legacy

## Not a Dead Ender

Jim Weinstein's highly original archival research in the '60s on the Progressive Era had a big impact on the field in the social sciences known as power structure research. By focusing on policy discussion groups like the National Civic Federation, he was able to show that some of the biggest and most international capitalists of that era did involve themselves in a sophisticated and conscious way in national-level policy issues, and were able to forge compromises with organized labor and reformers that preserved the corporate system while making some concessions to its opponents.

It is a tribute to Jim's work that many social scientists used his framework to extend his insights about the corporate moderates and their organizations well into the '70s, when most of the moderates became as reactionary as their one-time opponents within the capitalist class, mostly because the unions were no longer much of a threat and the social movements of the '60s were losing steam in the face of the New Right backlash.

Jim's work on the capitalist response to electoral victories by the Socialist Party at the municipal level in the Progressive Era brought a class-conflict perspective into the study of community power. He convincingly demonstrated that most of the "reforms" of the Progressive Era in the name of "efficiency" were primarily ways to limit the electoral success of the socialists. Subsequent research on local politics did show that each of the "reforms" had the effect of decreasing voter turnout and improving the chances of pro-capitalist politicians. Today, non-partisan, citywide elections and the city manager form of government are taken for granted in the many cities that have them, but they stand as evidence that the reformist capitalists had the clout and hired expertise to change the very shape of government.

Jim taught many of us many things. Would that he had been able to convince the many leftist scholars who took dead-end and politically hopeless paths even in the face of his work.

**G. William Domhoff** *one of In These Times' founding sponsors; is a sociology professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz*

## Old Terrain, New Insights

As many of you readers of *ITT* probably know, Jimmy Weinstein and I parted as political comrades more than a decade ago.

That political change did not reduce my respect for Jimmy as a historian, public intellectual and man of honor and integrity.

Jimmy showed his strength and commitment to the truth when, in the face of nasty personal attacks, he defended the 1983 book Joyce Milton and I wrote: *The Rosenberg File*, in which we argued that Julius Rosenberg was a Soviet spy. Indeed, Jim sat me down way back in 1977 and told me when I was becoming involved with the Meeropols' Committee To Re-Open the Rosenberg Case, that he thought it was a foolish endeavor, and that he believed Julius Rosenberg was probably guilty.

When my research confirmed Jimmy's suspicions, he stood by me and the book, despite threats from contributors to pull money out of *In These Times*. Indeed, he gave the book a lengthy favorable review in these very pages. And in the debate we held with Walter and Miriam Schneir at Town Hall in New York City in 1984, Jim publicly said, to a cascade of boos, that when he was a Communist, his own ignorance and naiveté were such that if he had been asked to spy for Stalin, he would have willingly done so. Indeed, Jimmy left the ranks of the Communist Party once he realized the truth about Stalin's crimes, and understood the consequences for American radicalism for those whose primary commitment was to Moscow, and not to the United States.

We will not see his like soon again.

**Ron Radosh** *one of In These Times' founding sponsors; is co-author of Red Star Over Hollywood: The Film Colony's Long Romance with the Left and a senior adjunct fellow at The Hudson Institute*

## Muckraker

Jim Weinstein was a shining example of a truly independent journalist. In his own way, he was in the tradition of George Seldes and I-F. Stone and Lincoln Steffens—muckraking journalists who challenged the received wisdom. He always asked "Why?" and "Who is be-

hind what?" and "Where are the bodies buried?" More than ever we need journalists such as Jim, who insisted that we must think things through, that we must remember the past in order to understand the present and prepare for the future.

**Studs Terkel** *is the author, most recently, of Hope Dies Last and a member of the In These Times Publishing Consortium*

## Creative Devotion

Jim Weinstein's legacy involves more than the books he wrote, the publications he founded, the organizations with which he worked, the hundreds of people he influenced, both personally and politically. There's also the consistent intellectual thread through his work over nearly a half century—that the ideas and principles of democratic socialism could and should be part of the mainstream political debate in America, in part because they were legitimate expressions of fundamental American ideals of liberty, equality and democracy.

But socialist principles have only rarely been part of everyday conversation, he often argued, because leftists failed to pay close attention to the distinctive contours of American history and institutions. Instead, all too often they have been influenced by foreign models and pressures, focused only on short-term objectives in their public political work, and generally alienated from American life.

As he wrote in *The Decline of Socialism in America*, there was a time, lasting into the '20s, when socialists had great appeal, won elections, produced widely read publications, led trade unions and other organizations and influenced public life through powerful individuals like Eugene V. Debs. But the Russian revolution created a "long detour," the subject of his last book, that divided and undermined the American left, created an inappropriate (and ultimately unappealing) model of socialism and distracted the left from working for democratic socialism in this country. There was also too little recognition, he argued, of how corporate liberalism had adapted to both the socialist challenge and the problems of capitalism, posing new challenges for the left.

Despite the renewal of American radical politics with the New Left, of which he was a major figure, he argued that the movement

failed to make the creation of a socialist alternative to capitalism a central part of its agenda. But mainly the New Left like its predecessors became alienated from the American mainstream seeking some revolutionary agent of change in foreign anti-imperialist movements or in one or another particular group within America society.

Unlike much of the left Weinstein thought that the majority of Americans were part of a greatly varied working class that shared a potential common interest in the liberation of human potential that a truly democratic socialism could bring. There was a tendency in the latter days of the New Left for many radicals to see America—sometimes spelled with three k's—as the enemy but Jim believed that the ideals of socialism could have wide appeal.

And contrary to many on the left Weinstein thought not only that electoral political work was essential—fighting to win elections and not just “educate” voters—but also that in most circumstances socialists should fight their battle in Democratic primaries not through third parties with dim prospects resulting from the structure of American political institutions. He was an enthusiastic supporter of politicians like Chicago Mayor Harold Washington the late Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.) and Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) who if not all openly socialist were and are able to fight effectively for popular democracy fairness and equality. In *The Long Detour* he identifies socialism with expansive educational opportunities universal health care electoral reform and other programs that might have been at home in the old Socialist Party of Debs.

Last year he was planning to launch an institute focused on long-term strategy and implementing the ideals of socialism but his illness made it impossible. Somebody else will have to take up the task one to which Jim creatively devoted his life.

**David Moberg** is a senior editor of *In These Times*.

## Unapologetic Radical

Jim Weinstein was the lefty's lefty an unabashed socialist. But he was no ideologue. He was an intellectual who participated in observed and dissected most every major twist and turn of the American left.

He was a public intellectual who

believed that compromise and winning were possible. He had no truck with blind ideology.

In this Red State New World moderation can be a curse. Still Weinstein was an unapologetic radical yet a radical who embraced the system. In politics he argued being effective is more important than being right. In *The Long Detour* he wrote “Choosing the outsider's route ... is to leave the game—or at best to stand on the sidelines as ultimately feckless kibitzers.”

He held no patience for political poseurs.

He was so right. In the 2000 presidential election Weinstein unmasked what would become a feckless but fatal folly. His essay “Nader: Why I'm Not Voting for Ralph” netted a slew of canceled subscriptions for *In These Times*. If only more of us had listened.

In the last year of his life Weinstein was very very busy toiling away at the finishing touches of a very mainstream concept—a think tank that would harvest the best ideas of the left. Meanwhile he was deploying chunks of his family's New York real estate holdings into progressive campaigns around the nation from Dennis Kucinich to Barack Obama to Melissa Bean a fresh-faced dragon slayer who knocked off the veteran conservative U.S. Rep. Phil Crane of Wauconda northwest of Chicago. A Crane minion huffed that Bean was taking a \$2,000 contribution from “a communist.”

Weinstein abandoned communism for socialism in 1956. “This is not only not true but kind of ludicrous after 50 years,” he told the *Chicago Tribune*.



Jimmy in Mexico, 2004.

JER MASCHINOT

The prolific author was proudest of his final tome *The Long Detour*. But when it came to hardheaded pragmatism Weinstein never took the shortcut.

**Laura Washington** teaches journalism at DePaul University and is a columnist for the Chicago Sun-Times.

## The Historian We Need

Early in the '70s I read a book by James Weinstein and my political outlook changed utterly and for good. Its title *The Decline of Socialism in America 1912-1925* doesn't sound like a catalyst of hope and personal transformation. But the book was precisely what a recent refugee from the Weathermanic Cheadoring province of the New Left needed.

Radical democrats Jimmie revealed had for two delicious decades been a force to be reckoned with in American public life. From 1901 to 1920 there were 323 different Socialist newspapers with a combined readership in the millions. In hundreds of cities and towns the Socialist Party (SP) elected mayors councilmen and tax assessors. Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan pilfered chunks of the SP's platform and such prominent thinkers as John Dewey W.E.B. DuBois and Walter Lippmann sang its praises. It was a revelation to learn that avowed Marxists had once gained a plurality of votes in such hamlets as St. Mary's Ohio and Grand Junction Colo. and that the *Rebel* published in the small town of Hallettsville Texas could sustain a weekly circulation of 25,000.



**Jimmy on the streets  
of Manhattan,  
c. 1968.**

COURTESY OF BETH MASCHINOT

Clearly, unlike the left that I knew, this was a movement rooted in the American heartland. Jimmy had set out to explain why, at the end of World War I, the Socialist Party entered a crisis from which it never recovered. But he sparked a new fascination with how the party had become the broadest, most popular organization of its kind in U.S. history.

Not that the causes of the SP's failure didn't matter. In Jimmy's sober view, it was the rise of Bolshevism that had split the radical movement in 1919 and then stymied the reconstruction of a mass party rooted in the concerns of ordinary Americans. Only an ex-Communist like he could truly grasp the fatal appeal of Lenin's worldview. Thus began the left's long, mostly fruitless romance with authoritarian revolutionaries who created a new order in which "freedom," "democracy," and "workers' power" blared from official banners but all but vanished as lived realities.

From that point on, Jimmy took on the mission of reviving the vision of Eugene V. Debs and his comrades. In two subsequent books and in the pages of *In These Times*, he labored to link the dream of a cooperative commonwealth with the exigencies of doing politics in the most thoroughly capitalist republic on earth. It was and remains a noble task, even if not enough Americans cared to listen.

But as a historian of and for the left, Jimmy pioneered in writing the kind of empathetic studies of common folk that

have transformed the field, even as our nation slid into the clutches of the Reagans and the Bushes. Henceforth, most scholars have rejected the kind of historians who, to quote Mr. Dooley—the fictional Irish-American bartender who delighted newspaper readers a century ago—are like some physicians who "are always lookin' f'r symptoms" and making "a post mortem examination."

"It tells ye what a countrhy died iv," commented Mr. Dooley. "But I'd like to know what it lived iv."

Thanks to Jimmy, we're still trying to figure that out.

**Michael Kazin's** biography of William Jennings Bryan will be published in January. He teaches history at Georgetown University.

## Guts and Tenacity

A few months ago, I made—well, "a historical discovery" would be much too grand. But a discovery, of a kind. At any rate, the kind of documentary tidbit that is useful in trying to narrate the past.

I meant to draw Jimmy's attention to it, but never did. Now it's too late. Let it go here, then, as a belated footnote to his place in the history of the American left.

During the '70s, quite a few people in the United States wanted to build a new communist party. This time (they figured) they'd get things right. At least several thousand people were involved, and not all of them

were crazy. One of the groups consisted largely of graduate students in Tucson, Arizona. They based themselves, not just on Chairman Mao, but on the structuralist Marxism of Louis Althusser; and they brought out a journal called *Theoretical Review* that ran some original (indeed, pioneering) work on the history of the American left. They were also pretty smart about cultural matters—punk rock, for example. (That made a big impression on me at the time.)

Intelligent and serious as the Tucson crew were, they were blindsided by history. Sometime around 1980, they published an analysis of the situation facing American revolutionaries, and they noted, in particular, the danger coming from ... the reformism of Jimmy Weinstein and *In These Times*.

You can probably guess how this story turns out.

About 18 months into the first Reagan administration, whatever remained of the new communist movement—*Theoretical Review* included—pretty much vanished, like a bank of fog under the rays of the sun. ("Morning in America," indeed.)

Jimmy made his share of contributions at the intellectual level. He did work that stood the test of decades; some of it is, I think, of permanent importance. But for the left, smarts aren't enough. If it were, we'd have taken state power and established a democratic society by now. Guts and tenacity also count, and perhaps count more. Jimmy had them. We have his example. We are rich.

**Scott McLemee**, a former *In These Times* contributing editor, writes a bi-weekly column for *Inside Higher Education*.

## Ambiguous Legacy

The biding theme in the books, articles and editorials of James Weinstein is the need for the American left to know and to act from an understanding of its own history. This notion is elaborated most fully in his five books—four of them published between 1967 and 1975, in the midst of the rise and decline of the optimistic and fatally flawed New Left. The left's failure was, as he wrote in *Ambiguous Legacy*, a destiny repeated three times by American radicals in the Twentieth Century, beginning with the decline of the American Socialist Party after World War I, the demise of the Communist Party in 1956 and the collapse of the New Left after 1968.



Weinstein's version of American socialism was based upon two broad premises: First, American capitalists recognized that they needed to incorporate elements of social reform in their system of rule in order to control the excesses of the laissez faire market and soften the impact of inequality and class difference. This strategy, he maintained, was devised in the tumultuous Progressive Era from 1890 to 1914. Second, the best way to oppose this system was to present an alternative and comprehensive vision of a socialist society. This meant avoiding the pitfalls of special interest politics and sectarianism—something all three American radical movements of the 20th Century fell prey to. For Weinstein, unlike many of his fellow historians, this usable past was the necessary first step in activism. For him, understanding the ambiguous legacy of the past was the best and only way to claim the future.

**James B. Gilbert** teaches US and Cultural history at the University of Maryland.

## Throw off the Saddles and Dare to Think

I admired Jim Weinstein. Here was a creative man. His creation was *In These Times*. He chose the American heartland as the base for his newspaper because of its political history and because it had guts; but it needed a voice. Jim provided the voice.

The voice he provided agitated for progressive change. Jim agreed with Thomas Jefferson when he said: "The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs; nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them." Jim wanted disharmony between the riders and the ridden, and his writings not only analyzed the times in which we live but exhorted humankind to throw off the saddles and dare to think.

Dylan Thomas speaks for all of us who loved and admired Jim Weinstein—he did not go gentle into that good night. He raged against the dying of the light for humankind.

Hail, Jim, and goodbye.

**Edward "Buzz" Palmer** is the co-director of the PEOPLE Programme.

## Last Request

Over the past 6 months I had moments with Jimmy that I will cherish forever. Though at times he expressed great sadness, he said he was not afraid of death. Jimmy was always teaching me something—how to correctly chop vegetables during our weekly cooking lessons; how

to navigate the Chicago street grid system after I moved here and, of course, how to view what's going on in the world with a more critical eye.

A couple weeks ago Jimmy said, "Melissa, I need you to do me a favor." Jimmy had not asked me to do one thing for him during his illness, so I knew he was serious. He told me to ask my friends to buy the paperback edition of *The Long Detour*. I said, "Do you want to educate as many people as possible before you die?" With a grin, he said he knew most of my friends probably wouldn't read the book, but that they should.

He then explained that if enough books were sold, then a third edition would be printed. He said that having his ideas around after he is gone was important to him and that a third printing would help accomplish this. I e-mailed all my friends and 30 of them e-mailed back and said they had bought the book.

So I am asking you, readers of *In These Times*, to keep *The Long Detour* in print and buy a new paperback copy. To read more about the book, and to order it, check out Jimmy's Web site at [www.jamesweinstein.com](http://www.jamesweinstein.com).

**Melissa Byrns**, James Weinstein's stepdaughter, lives in Chicago.

## To a Friend

(in the style of Pablo Neruda)

You are the best American,  
a child with obnoxious optimism.  
You are loud and wonderfully impure.  
You are a cook and a schemer.  
I know the social ferment of your kitchen.  
You have plans and programs  
and radical recipes  
to fan the flames of discontent.

You live for the new city  
for its justice,  
for the sunny freedom of its broad  
avenues.

And although we live in an age of smug  
generals  
and rivers of snake oil,  
I see your city shining in the distance.

**Adrián Bleifuss Prados** is a history major at Haverford College.





SETH TOBOCMAN

BY DAVID MOBERG

## Power to the Pictures

One hundred years ago this June, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was founded in Chicago. And at the end of July, the AFL-CIO celebrates its 50th anniversary. The IWW has only about 5,000 members now; the AFL-CIO about 13

million. But it's the IWW that inspired this engrossing new short history, filled with stories of heroic efforts by America's downtrodden workers to improve their lives, and of brutal repression. Several talented graphic artists—including Seth Tobocman, Tom Keough, Sue Coe, Spain Rodriguez and Carlos Cortez—employ styles drawn from woodblock prints, comic books and political cartoons to vividly bring their struggles to life.

It's not that the AFL-CIO hasn't had its heroes. But few can match Joe Hill, the Swedish immigrant organizer, cartoonist and songwriter, or Frank Little, the "half white, half Indian and all Wobbly" miner, both of whom were killed for fighting the mining companies. Hill was executed by the state of Utah in 1915. Two years later, after suffering severe injuries fighting for striking miners, Little was dragged from

his bed by Anaconda Corporation vigilantes who beat him viciously, then lynched him from a railroad trestle with a warning note to others.

The Wobblies—nobody knows exactly how they got the nickname—were founded in a "continental congress of the working class," involving such leading lights of the American left as Big Bill Haywood, Eugene V. Debs, Mother Jones and socialist leader Daniel DeLeon. An alternative to the craft-oriented and often discriminatory AFL, the Wobblies argued for One Big Union of all workers, organized by industries, who would use direct action on the job to fight not only for better conditions but for direct control of the economy by workers themselves.

Within a few years, many of the founders had left, and the IWW collapsed in the '20s as much because of

factional disputes as the severe repression. The Wobblies eschewed electoral politics in favor of direct action confrontations with capitalists. Yet despite this contempt for electoral politics, they benefited from progressive governments—such as the sympathetic Non-Partisan League officials in North Dakota who not only refused to attack them but protected their free speech rights. In most cases, though, the Wobblies suffered incessant local, state and federal government attacks. Hundreds of leaders were rounded up during World War I as threats to national security, even though the IWW, unlike the Socialist Party, did not officially oppose the war, seeing it as irrelevant to the class struggle. Although they might not have prevented all attacks, political action could have tempered this repression.

**Wobblies! A Graphic History of the Industrial Workers of the World**  
 Edited by Paul Buhle and Nicole Schulman  
 Verso  
 305 pages, \$25

With some exceptions (such as a long-lasting, black-led Philadelphia local), they also tended to avoid contracts and even long-term organization. In some of their most celebrated struggles, such as the 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts textile strike and the 1913 Paterson, New Jersey, silk workers strike, the Wobblies largely provided skilled, leadership as conflicts developed, then lost influence later.

But the Wobblies' legacy has nevertheless been long-lasting and pervasive. They created a popular, radical, working-class culture of songs, legends, cartoons, newspapers and much more—largely preserved by the Charles H. Kerr Press, publisher of Franklin Rose-

mont's exhaustive biography of Joe Hill and many other related books. When unionists or radicals gather today, they are still likely to sing "Solidarity Forever," an anthem by Wobbly Ralph Chapin, and the IWW *Little Red Songbook* kept workers inspired for much of the century. *Wobblies!* mainly recounts the most celebrated strikes, not the tactics on the job, including sabotage, that Wobblies employed, but Susan Simensky Bietila depicts in soft-edged imagery the way the IWW flooded towns with organizers who took to soapboxes in defense of free speech, often getting out only a few words, like "fellow workers and friends ...".

Although it was an authentically American movement (which nevertheless incorporated many recent immigrants), the IWW also was a pathbreaking internationalist organization that affected left and labor activity in many countries, including Mexico. For example, Christopher Cardinale and Giuliana Chamedes, influenced by the graphic style of Mexican artist José Guadalupe Posada, tell the story of Primo Tapia. This Mexican immigrant farmworker organized a Nebraska sugar beet refinery for the IWW in 1919 before returning to Mexico to organize peasant farmers into the League of Agrarian Communities. He was killed by Mexican soldiers in 1926.

With their stirring battles for free speech—often filling the jails of small towns where officials were trying to suppress their organizing—the Wobblies laid the basis for the American Civil Liberties Union and free speech battles that continue today. It's also fitting that this well-researched and sympathetic account of the IWW appears as a graphic novel, given the role of cartoons—such as Mr. Block, the misguided worker who takes the boss's view-

point—in Wobbly literature.

The Wobblies were innovators who made great headway organizing crucial but marginal and unstable groups of workers, such as transient agriculture workers in the upper Midwest, as recounted in Frank Tobias Higbie's fascinating 2003 study, *Indispensable Outcasts*. Today, the Wobblies continue the tradition, organizing Starbucks baristas and bicycle messengers. The rest of the labor movement might take some inspiration from the IWW to organize the growing ranks of contingent workers. The movement's work persists in groups like the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless and the groups described in Vanessa Tait's recent book, *Poor Workers' Unions*.

The Wobbly strategy of creating a worker-controlled socialism through direct action without also trying to win power through the ballot box had fatal shortcomings. But the Wobblies' combination of

grassroots democracy, direct action and visionary politics is a reminder of the limitations of the current debate on reviving the AFL-CIO. There are echoes of the radical IWW priest Father Thomas Hagerty's "wheel of fortune"—dividing the IWW into industrial departments, such as transportation, agriculture, mining, public service, and manufactures—in the current Service Employees union proposal for a few big unions concentrated in major industries, but not much else from IWW tradition. Hagerty envisioned not only each industry being organized top-to-bottom through a department of the One Big Union but also society itself being organized through this wheel of fortune. Today the idea that workers themselves can run industry is far from most union debates.

*Wobblies!* devotes relatively little attention to why the IWW ultimately failed. But it is a powerful and accessible reminder of why their struggles remain inspiring. ■

## ART SPACE

**The Chicago Housing Authority** is the star of a new campaign created for them by the Leo Burnett agency to put a good face on their "Plan for Transformation."

Combining their initials with the word 'change' they created CHA<sup>ng</sup>e. But this counter-campaign argues that it's more like CHA<sup>os</sup>. The plan includes demolishing 14,000 public housing units, privatizing existing public land and apportioning large amounts of the city's housing budget to anyone but the public housing residents, leaving 20,000 people without homes. To learn more, visit [chicago-housingauthority.net/](http://chicago-housingauthority.net/).





# Stop Making Sense

BY JAMES PARKER

Nonsense—like fear, sex and heavy metal—is a principle in life. At the very top of things, above all the heaving and the straining, there is a permanent layer of bubbling superfluity, of pristine biological froth:

This is nonsense. Oddly, it can be quite hard to reach; there is no universal access to this layer. Anyone can be daft, or disruptive, or fitfully meaningless, but your real nonsense-maker has other, rarer qualities: He (mainly he, for reasons which may become clear) is possessed of a kind of manic sobriety, something between a pedant and an anarchist. Nonsense is not chaos; it doesn't wallow or thrash. On the contrary, it has a playful attraction to form, particularly rhyme and meter—in fact, the tighter the rules, and the more punctilious and arbitrary the enforcement, the happier nonsense is. Emotional repression is also useful: The two founding fathers of nonsense verse, Edward Lear and Lewis Carroll, were celibate Victorian Englishmen.

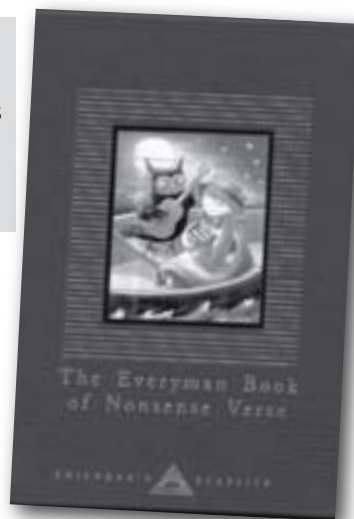
The lavish new *Everyman Book Of Nonsense Verse* is an exemplary anthology, covering the ground with thoroughness while also aggravating and enlarging the definition of its subject. All the canonical nonsense-masters are present—Lear, Carroll, G.K. Chesterton, Mervyn Peake—as well as cheerful moderns like Matthew Sweeney and Roger McGough. But it is in the inclusion of Wallace Stevens' "The Em-

**Everyman Book of Nonsense Verse**  
Edited by Louise Guinness  
Knopf  
256 pages, \$15.95

peror Of Ice Cream" and Ted Hughes' "Wodwo" that the editor, Louise Guinness, has distinguished herself.

Wallace Stevens, with a sound grasp of the nonsense-principle, declared in 1959 that "a poem need not have a meaning and, like most things in nature, often does not have." "The Emperor Of Ice Cream" was written in the '30s and he answered (or not) questions as to its meaning for the rest of his life, even fielding at one point an enquiry from something called the Amalgamated Ice Cream Association. The poem's most famous couplet—"Let be be finale of seem/ The only emperor is the emperor of ice cream"—can stand as a nonsense manifesto, a total flouting of the authority of reality. Stevens explained it thus: "... let being become the conclusion or denouement of appearing to be: In short, ice cream is an absolute good." Now *that's* nonsense.

Hughes' "Wodwo" is different, being composed of the reflections of some sort of shuf-



fling, sniffing half-beast unsure of its own nature: "But what shall I be called am I the first/ have I an owner what shape am I..." Hughes critic Ekbert Faas described the occluded seekings of the Wodwo as "a language of self-erasure which, emulating Nature's own cycle of creation and destruction, consistently obliterates its own traces."

Nonsense and nature go hand in hand. Edward Lear, a very lonely and suffocatingly closeted gay man, used nonsense as a sort of code, in which (as every biographer post-Freud has pointed out) too-tight shoes and overlarge noses were featured with dream-like repetitiveness, the

poet's pinched libido blooming fantastically into a procession of tender, proboscile, disappointed phalluses. As Lear grew older and his sadness deepened, he almost left nonsense behind, abandoning the darting whimsicality of his earlier verse for sub-Tennysonian broodings like "The Dong With The Luminous Nose": "When awful silence and darkness reign / Over the great Gromboolian plain ..." etc.

No one does *just* nonsense: That would be inhuman. It works best as a hobby, a sideline. Lear was a painter, Carroll a clergyman and mathematician. Mervyn Peake, with all the mental tonnage of his Gormenghast novels installed and pressurized in his head, seems to have fired out brilliant squibs of nonsense for relief: "Of fallow-land and pasture / And skies both pink and grey, / I made my statement last year / And have no more to say." Chesterton found the production of nonsense verse to be—literally—laughably easy: "To publish a book of my nonsense verses," he wrote to his fiancé, "seems to me exactly like summoning the whole of the people of Kensington to watch me smoke a cigarette." And Stevens said of "The Emperor Of Ice Cream": "I dislike niggling, and like letting myself go. This poem is an instance of letting myself go."

So how do we hit that dancing nonsense-layer? Drugs? On a highly organized mind, a mind (in Lear's words) "concrete and abstemious," the effects of drugs *can* produce nonsense. Oliver Wendell Holmes, for example, coming round from a dose of ether and convinced he had the secret of the Universe in his grip, described his revelation thus: "A strong sense of turpentine prevails throughout." Nonsense! The rest of us, however, must stay straight—if only for the sake of making no sense at all. ■

# Frontier

Continued from page 17

He continued fundraising at a fast clip, raising more than any other candidate for governor in Montana's history, despite refusing PAC money—another decision he credited to talking to people. He toured the state to find a lieutenant governor. In the process, he talked to dozens of Montanans, people who rarely get one-on-one time with a major candidate for governor. Most of them, he says, told him that they did not want to be lieutenant governor; they simply wanted to talk to someone who could change things.

Ultimately, Schweitzer's real choice for lieutenant governor made waves. When he tapped State Senator John Bohlinger, a Republican, the state GOP lashed out while Democrats around the state scratched their heads. Bohlinger is a progressively-minded Republican, a rare breed in national politics. In his hometown of Billings, Bohlinger was well known for his truly compassionate conservatism—delivering passionate speeches against the death penalty, hate crimes and sex trafficking. And while the decision raised hackles among some party stalwarts, the bipartisan ticket told many Montanans that this was a campaign uninterested in partisanship.

The *Montana Kaimir*, a daily college paper, editorialized that Schweitzer's decision “shook up Montana's all too partisan political infrastructure” and Chuck Johnson, the dean of Montana political journalism, referred to a TV ad emphasizing the bipartisan ticket as the most effective of the campaign year.

But Schweitzer's team never confused common sense with mealy-mouthing or bipartisanship with timidity. In the waning days of the election, the Republican Governors Association (RGA) hammered Schweitzer with an ad accusing him of bogus business deals. “The RGA had already been kicked out of other states for deceptive advertising,” says Martin. “At the last minute, they ran an ad with a man who had tried to deceive money out of the Schweitzers, a wealthy landowner portraying herself as a destitute widow, and the cousin of the Republican nominee for Governor.” The three Montanans alleged bad business activity on Schweitzer's part, but failed to disclose their own conflicts of interest.

The Montana Democrats hit back with an ad highlighting the fact that Schweitzer's accusers had felony criminal records, as well as family and business connections to the Republican candidate for governor. The attack ad fell flat on its face.

“We got a lot of positive feedback on that,” Martin says. “Half of it was hitting home [Schweitzer's] populist message and half of it was exposing these people for who they were.”

Ultimately, the hard work paid off. Schweitzer was elected as the first Democratic governor in 16 years. His approval rating is slowly marching upward, approaching 60 percent, while Bush has slumped to 53 percent approval in this red state.

Observers sometimes summarize the lessons learned as follows: Work hard for 10 years building a party; start the campaign early; find an outstanding, hard-working, telegenic, charismatic candidate; fundraise like mad; craft a great message; hammer the message; and pray. Even with this nearly perfect storm, Schweitzer won with just a 4 percent majority.

But other lessons are more concrete and there are some signs that Democrats are beginning to implement them nationally:

- *Fight everywhere.* Schweitzer didn't write off the rural areas of Montana that have recently become Republican strongholds. He campaigned statewide, winning two counties typically lost by Democrats and

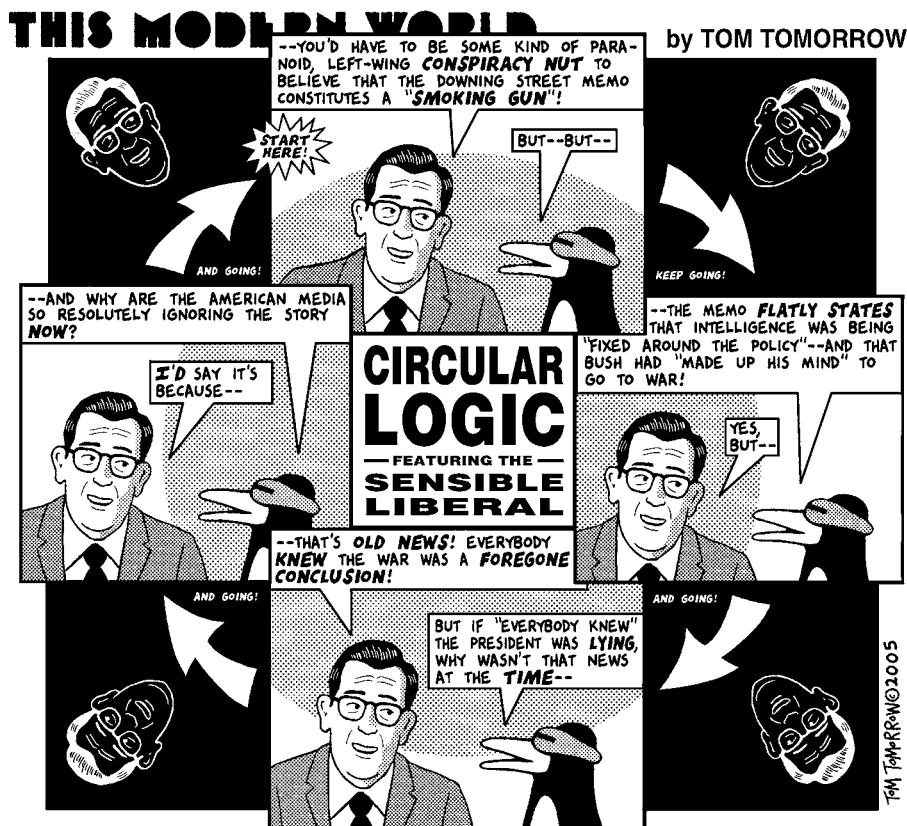
narrowing the margin in dozens of others.

- *Fight back.* When Schweitzer got “Swift Boated,” his campaign staffers didn't sit silently. They hit back fast and hard. And in his first months in office, Schweitzer didn't refrain from criticizing the president who received more votes than he did. He aggressively criticized Bush on a number of fronts. Now he's more popular than the president among Montana voters.

- *Actions speak louder than words.* Unlike other Democrats who revel in meta-analysis or theorizing over values, Schweitzer simply did it. Rather than saying he was a real Montanan, he talked about his home-steading ancestors. Rather than talking about reclaiming the flag, Schweitzer just did it—prominently on his Web site and on pens the campaign distributed. And both Schweitzer and the Montana Democrats had plans. They just realized that having the plans was more important than talking about them non-stop.

If Democrats across the country learn these lessons, they'll be on the right road to winning America back. ■

**MATT SINGER**, an intern for PLAN, is a writer and activist in Montana.



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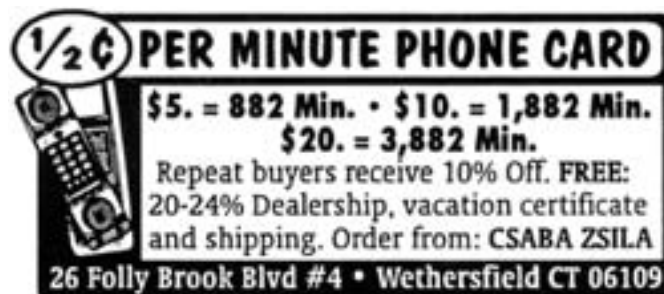
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# the line

Continued from back page

***You must have known you'd get crazy responses when you drew Donald Rumsfeld masturbating to images of the bombing of Iraq.***

It was one of those that I sent off and wondered if I'd be hearing back from papers that didn't want to run it. Some people may see that cartoon as "juvenile" or "offensive," but that is part of the point. I don't use imagery that may be seen as shocking or offensive gratuitously. I believe the "shock and awe" bombings were deeply offensive on a human and moral level. It felt like many people didn't see it that way.

***They were more shocked by masturbation than murder.***

Exactly! I also try to draw what I see as the truth in my cartoons. And I fully believe that Rumsfeld "gets off" on war, on violence, on power—just like many others in the Bush mob.

***Your caricature of Bush has devolved over time. Pre-2000, you drew him with only slightly distorted features. But now your Dubya caricature is one of the most grotesque in the business, a creepy, squeaky, sniveling chimp-like man-doll.***

The image manipulation of this administration is sinister. I wanted to do something to combat that.

It's been said that for a lie to exist there must be people willing to believe the lie. Bush and Co. do a good job of making people feel it is cool to believe the lie, with everything from the phony macho-man image of Bush, to the chest-pounding bullying of liberals. They make it more comfortable to believe the lie than to face the truth. But if the tide turns and it starts to become uncool to believe the lie anymore, then we are in business.

Can a caricature help that? I think it can. People don't want to be associated with the person everyone thinks is an idiot.

I'd like to see the public realize the emperor has no clothes. I really hope the Downing Street memo can gain traction. It took a long time for Watergate to gain traction. I'm hoping that can happen here. ■

**MIKHAELA REID** draws political cartoons for the Boston Phoenix. Her work, and Sutton's, appear regularly at [www.inthesetimes.com/site/main/cartoons/](http://www.inthesetimes.com/site/main/cartoons/). A longer version of this interview appears at [www.inthesetimes.com](http://www.inthesetimes.com).







## drawing the line

BY MIKHAELA REID

Could a cartoon bring down the Bush administration? Maybe not, but that won't stop Ward Sutton from trying.

**W**ARD SUTTON'S SATIRICAL ART HAS APPEARED IN mainstream venues such as *TV Guide*, *Rolling Stone* and *Time*. But his labor of love is the no-holds-barred comic strip he's been drawing for the *Village Voice* since 1998, now available in the full-color collection, *Sutton Impact: The Political Cartoons of Ward Sutton*. Sutton recently spoke to fellow cartoonist Mikhaela Reid from a farm in Bismarck, North Dakota, where he is taking a break from New York life to produce an animated short film.

**You used to do a lot more cartoons about pop culture. But since 2000 your strip has become almost exclusively political. Why?**

It was the first Gulf War that was the real tipping point for me,

politically. I thought the war, and the media coverage of it, was disgusting. I went to Washington, D.C. to march in protest and also marched in Seattle and in Minneapolis, where I got arrested for civil disobedience at the federal building.

I also drew cartoons on the war. But one day the powers that be told me, "The war isn't funny anymore."

Part of making a living as an illustrator is working in a way that appeals to editors and art directors. So in addition to my weekly strip, which was about politics but also social and pop-culture issues, I began doing all sorts of things: freelance illustration, rock posters. There is the work I do to pay the bills and the work I do to feed my soul. My weekly strip is something that has never paid much money at all, but it has allowed me to express what I really feel.

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